Medieval Maratha Country

A. R. Kulkarni

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Dedication

To,

My students of History

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Preface

"Medieval Maratha Country" is a collection of fourteen research articles which were published by me in various research journals, and the proceedings of the conferences, seminars, and so on. They mainly deal with the various aspects of history, society and economy or Medieval Maharashtra. This can be treated as a supplementary volume to my earlier work 'Medieval Maharashtra' which incorporated my researches on society and economy of Maharashtra of the 17th and 18th Centuries.

I am grateful to Shri. Dattatraya Pashte, Proprietor of the Diamond Publications, Pune for undertaking the responsibility of publication of this book.

I am extremely thankful to Dr. Radhika Seshan for her help in correcting the proofs and preparing the index of this book.

I hope that the research scholars and students would find this book useful for their researches and studies of the Maharashtra, Society, Polity, Economy and Culture.

A. R. Kulkarni
Pune
15th Aug. 2008

1

THE PROSELYTISATION AND PURIFICATION MOVEMENT IN GOA AND KONKAN

Book Religions in India

The problem of proselytisation followed by the movement of purification, covering a period of four hundred years of

Indian history, was essentially a conflict between a book religion on the one hand, and on the other hand a religion based on tradition, customs, practices, and worship of multiplicity of deities by different types of people brought under the umbrella of one religion, called Hinduism. When India was invaded and occupied first by the Muslims in the early medieval phase of its history and later by the Europeans, in spite of their efforts to convert this sub-continent to their own religions, they could not succeed, and both these religions remained a minority in this country. With the decline of their political power, their control over religion declined likewise, and the conversion movement came to an end. Some of those who were converted, particularly to Christianity, could not forget their old moorings and came back to their original fold *en masse*, retaining their old castes, names, customs, practices, etc.

The early settlers in India came with a few spiritual concepts which were developed in the process of their settlement in this land. They worshipped nature either to

avoid its wrath or seek its mercy. However, the case of Muslim or Christian invaders of India was a different one as they had already a well-developed religious system. What they needed (the Turks or Afghans for instance), was a permanent home where they could establish themselves politically and spread their religion among the residents of their newly-conquered territories with a view to securing support from the local population for their political power. The Portuguese, on the other hand, were least interested in making their new conquest a permanent home, but were interested in spreading their religion in occupied territories without severing their links with their homeland.

The different attitudes of these two foreign invaders in the medieval period were mainly responsible for developing different types of religious policies towards the people of the newly conquered areas. The Muslims learnt Hindu scriptures, translated them into the vernacular languages with a view to merging themselves with the way of life of the native people, without compromising much on their own religion. Conversion to Islam, therefore, became merely a political issue, rather than a religious one, for the Muslim rulers of medieval times.

The Christian rulers, however, with the support of a well-organized missionary system, particularly as was the case of the Portuguese, were bent on proselytizing the natives *en masse*, and exploited their superstitions or wrong notions about the loss of purity on some flimsy grounds. To the Portuguese, conversion was a religious issue, and political power, was the major tool in turning the Hindu land into a Christian one.[1] As Prof. Boxer has rightly said "the Portuguese overseas empire was a military and maritime enterprise cast in an ecclesiastical mould."

Inquisition and Forced Conversions

This essay seeks to survey the problem of conversion of Christianity and the movement of purification that

followed on the west coast, particularly in Goa and its surrounding Marathi-speaking area. In fact, to reach the masses, the Christians - saints and missionaries - produced a vast amount of popular literature in Marathi to promote the policy of proselytization of the Portuguese rule.

Christianity reached the shores of India much before the advent of the Portuguese, but the history of Christianity in Goa begins with its conquest by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1510. The job of spreading Christianity was assigned to different religious orders in the early years. For instance, island *taluka* of Goa was assigned to the Dominicans, Bardez to the Franciscans, and Salcete to the Jesuits. Francis Xavier reached Goa in 1542, with the object of spreading the Christian faith. He involved himself in serving the sick in the hospital, the poor and downtrodden, and in improving the character of the prisoners.[2]

Later, he started actively participating in the work of conversion. It was at his instance that the Goa Inquisition was set up to try the cases of violation of the Portuguese Acts of 1547 imposing restrictions on non-Christains. The Jesuits always claimed that they did not inflict their religion on unwilling people, but only on those who had sought it on their own. The Jesuits in fact, were more powerful in Goa than the Portuguese officials. It was said that 'the viceroys come and go, but the Paulist (Padree) is always there.' They had acquired property, particularly in Sashti, and often quarrelled among themselves over the property claims. The Inquisition was closed for a short period in 1774, but was revived between 1779 and 1812.[3]

The methods adopted by the Jesuits made some people leave Goa and seek asylum in the Maratha country. One of the documents from the Konkan mentions that in order to increase the Christian population in Konkan, the Portuguese forcibly converted Marathas which resulted in *en masse* migrations. We need not enter into the

controversy whether the Jesuits used force or not, though one is inclined to agree with Dr. Noronha's opinion that "almost none was converted from conviction."[4]

The Viceroy in 1667 issued an order that all except the Roman Catholics were to be deported from Goa. The threat of large-scale massacre of the Hindus was feared as a consequence, Shivaji, the Maratha king, in retaliation detained four missionaries from Bardez and asked them to embrace Hinduism, but when they refused to do so, they were killed. The Portuguese Viceroy then withdrew his order of deportation.[5]

The Talkonkan area was saved from the designs of the missionaries by the gallant efforts of the Angres, the Admirals of the Marathas.[6] But the situation in North Konkan, particularly in Vasai was different. The Deshmukhs of Vasai deserted the place and reported to the king that the Portuguese had destroyed the temples, the holy places and had suppressed the *Maharashtra Dharma* (the Maratha way of life) by converting Hindus to Christainity.[7]

The French traveller Dellon's account of the Inquisition, (himself a victim of it for three years) was considered fabricated till another French traveller Abbe Carre, who met him in Goa, confirmed it. The Inquistion can be compared with the Revolutionary Tribunal set up in France during the Revolution of 1789 or with its Reign of Terror and the guillotining of anti-revolutionaries. It was an ecclesiastical tribunal set-up to suppress heresy and punish Christian heretics. But in the course of time Hindus and other non-Christians were also accused of obstructing conversion and were brought before the Inquisition for punishment.[8]

The Portugese had enacted a number of anti-Hindu laws, all with a view to coerce Hindus into Christianity. These laws included banishment from the territory, the banning of performances of Hindu religious rites and

ceremonies, and the prohibition of religious activities by Hindu priests. Measures were adopted to deprive them of their means of subsistence, of their rights and privileges in village communities.[9] Shivaji, it appears, had raised the issue of forcible conversion and confiscation of the properties of the orphans by the Portuguese government in 1675.[10] Even the Factory Records confirm the imposition of Christianity on the orphans by the Jesuits. The Portuguese officers at times resented such moves of the Jesuits. The Captain-General of Vasai had ordered the Jesuits to return the confiscated property to the orphans.[11]

Teotonio R'de Souza in his *Medieval Goa* mentions that the methods adopted disrupted several social bonds and traditional attachments which had kept the village communities together. On the basis of state documents and ecclestiastical records, he aptly remarks that the missionary harassment was the hallmark of Luso-Hindu relations during the 16th and 17th centuries in Goa.[12] The first ecclesiastical council of 1567 was a systematic and relentless war against Hindu religious and social practices. In 1704, a law made Hindus pay an annual contribution, a heavy capitation tax like the Jiziya of the Mughals. The *xenddi* tax, which was imposed on the Hindus, according to deSouza was the last flicker of proselytism.[13]

Iconoclastic Zealotry

The first target of the Jesuits were the temples, which always reminded the Hindus of their religion. The temple was the centre of all political, cultural and economic activities of village communities. The Portuguese banned all public celebrations of the Hindus, and even forced them to wear a dress which could distinguish them form converts.

According to the government statement, there were 126 temples, 106 Christian churches and 4 mosques in Goa. But according to private source there were 157 temples,

both big and small in Goa.[14]

The Jesuits had realised that their aim of the Christianization of Goa could be materialized only if they could reach the masses through the vernaculars like Marathi or Kannada and their respective dialects. Fr. Thomas Stephens (1548-1619), an English Jesuit who came to Goa in 1579, wrote his Christ-Purana in 1616, a poetic work bigger in size than the first Marathi poetic work Janeshwari, a commentary on the Bhagvad Gita, composed in the last decades of the 13th century. Stephens had earlier written a Marathi grammar. His works were meant for spreading Christianity among the natives.

The books of the Christian missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries were aimed at persuading the Hindus to abandon their false gods. They refuted Hindus beliefs with great vehemence and ridiculed their deities, like Vishnu, Mahesh, and Ganesh, and the accounts connected with them. The Portugese in the wake of their religious fanaticism pulled down temples, burnt or confiscated religious literature, and created a vacuum in the spiritual life of the community. It was perhaps to fill this vacumm that the missionaries wrote books in Marathi on Christainity. A. K. Priolkar writes., "on the one hand, this literature aimed at a popular presentation of doctrines of Christian religion mainly through accounts of the life and work of its founder and other saints, and at providing manuals to serve as aids for the daily practice of the new faith; on the other hand it aimed at weaning away the converts from their old faith by attacking and ridiculing forcefully the tenets of Hindus religion and the gods of Hindu pantheon."[15]

When John Wilson, the well-known missionary published his *First Exposure*, he declared that if anybody dared challenge his views or rather critcism of Hinduism, he was prepared to enter into a debate with him. The main contention was that whosoever would try to establish the

superiority of the Hindu religion would in the process expose more and more of its falsehood and supersitions; and those who would follow the debate between Brahmanas and the missionaries would find in the long run the hollowness of Hinduism and would, by the grace of God, accept Christianity as a last resort. It is true that some prominent Brahman families from Ahmednagar like Modak, Kelkar, Tilak etc. did accept Christianity, but Vishnubawa Brahmachari, a Hindu missionary replied to all the points raised by John Wilson, and thereby checked the tide of conversion.[16]

Historical Background of Purification

It seems that purification or reconversion to the original faith of the converts did not pose any serious problems in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the movement of proselytization was at its height. The Portuguese tried to spread Christianity, sometimes, with the help of the sword. Theodore Greesinger, a historian of Christianity, writes, "It so happended that the native priests, the Brahmins, had not the least difficulty in bringing the people back again to the religion, in which they had been born and bred."[17]

The Hindus were highly superstitious and the missionaries did not fail to exploit these weaknesses. They believed that even drinking water or eating bread offered by a Christian led to their acceptance of the new religion. It was, therefore, easier to take back such people *en masse*, by simply sprinkling sacred water or perhaps by their sipping a few drops of cow urine. History is full of instances of *en masse* purifications from Muslims or Christian religions. The Brahmans of the 16th to 17th centuries had devised various simple methods of reconversion. For instance, on the birthday of lord Krishna (Gokulashtmi), the converts on bathing in the sea, or being sprinkled with holy water of the Ganga, had all their sins, including the conversion rite, washed away, and could then be

readmitted to their original faith. The Brahmans made them believe that the procedure suggested by them had the sanction of the scriptures.

The Christian missionaries retaliated by erecting crosses at various places on the sea-shore. The Brahmins countered by avoiding such places and arranging the mass-bathing ceremonies at other places. They discovered an old lake at Vasai and the bathing ceremony was done there secretly. In Goa too there was a *Madhav Teertha* - a lake, used for similar purposes.[18]

The four major agencies authorised to purify persons were the

(1) Brahma-Sabha or the assembly of Brahmans held at holy places like Karhad, Mahuli, Wai, Karveer, Paithan, Nasik;

(2) The Jati Sabha or the caste-council;

(3) The King and his Prime Minister, the Peshwa; and

(4) The Maths or monasteries of Shankaracharya at Sankeshwar and Kolhapur.

Shivaji had created the post of Panditrao, the ecclesiatical affairs minister whose main job was to help all these agencies in their job of purification of converts.[19]

Yet another institution *(gota)* may be considered with regard to the ceremony of purification. According to the medieval practice, the sanction of *gotsabha* comprising the *watandars* and *deshaks* of the village as well as of the *pargana*, was necessary for *gotai*, i.e. acceptance of the converted person into his *gota*. The purified person had to be acceptable to all. At such a public meeting, the fees prescribed for purification were collected and a document under government seal attesting to this was issued to the person concerned.[20]

There are a number of official documents pertaining to conversion by force and readmission to the original fold, with details of the policies adopted by both the parties. The

general procedure was to consult the Brahma Sabha, the state officials, for prescribing the mode of penances to be followed according to scriptures and the award of final documents, certifying the purification. Shivaji secured many outlying parts of the Portuguese territory between 1665-1670, and asked the Brahmans to purify the Christian converts in those areas and bring them to Hinduism. Many of these converts probably regained their places and they are now lost among the masses of Hindus.[21]

After the capture of Vasai fort from the Portuguese in 1739, the Hindus of Bhandari, Kriyapal and Mogate castes, who were forcibly converted to Christianity while they were in service of the fort, were readmitted to the Hindu fold against a small fee of Rs. 25, in the early decades of the 19th century.

The Maratha power became extinct in 1818, and the East India Company took over the territories of the Peshwas. The cholera epidemic of 1828, frightened some low caste converts like the Orap, the Agri, the Bhandari in the Vasai region, and they suddenly decided to go back to their old religion to escape the wrath of the goddess. They were readmitted to Hinduism without any inhibitions, and Shankaracharya approved this decision by accepting alms at the hands of the re-admitted people. However, the Brahmans of Vasai refused to perform the religious rites of the new castes, perhaps due to the fear of their masters belonging to the four *varnas* of Hinduism. Nityanand Saraswati, the Shankaracharya, in his Ajnapatra (order) asked the Brahmans of Vasai, to accept the readmitted people and to render all religious services to them and the Peshwa, after consulting the scriptures and the procedures laid down for purification, re-admitted them to Hinduism.[22]

Swami Vivekanand, the advocate of Hinduism in the international forum justified the purification of the Brahmans all over the country. He suggested that the

purified people would go back to their original castes, and those who were non-Hindus, now coming to Hinduism, could form a new caste of their own.[23]

However, the problem of purification became complicated gradually due to the stubborn opposition from the orthodox Pune Brahmans. There was a marked difference in the attitudes towards change between the Bombay and the Pune Brahmans. The former influenced by western ideas, were for the removal of the evils that had crept into society, reform of all customs, traditions, and superstitions acting as hurdles to human progress. The latter had not forgotten even in the 19th century that they were political masters of the country and preferred revolution to reform. For instance, the movement of widow marriages which was mooted by the Bombay pandits, was opposed tooth and nail by the orthodox brahmans of Pune. The Brahmans of Pune, having lost their political power in the recent past were perhaps not willing to surrender their control over religion in the 19th century.

One can recall the case of purification of Shripati Sheshadri, sponsored by Bal Gangadhar Jambhekar (1810-1846), the editor of the first Marathi periodical, the *Darpan*. He was assistant professor in mathematics at Elphinstone College, Bombay and the inspector of education with the government of Bombay. He was a constructive reformer. When Shripati's father approached Jambhekar to secure the release of his son from the custody of the Christians, he worked hard, at the cost of his health, and loss of money to get him back to the fold. At his behest, Jagannath Shankershet, agreed to bear the travel cost of Shripati, who was to visit Kashi, as a part of the programme of penances. But the orthodox Brahmans argued that as the boy had deviated from the Hindu religious practices, and had violated the customs and traditions, he was as good as dead to them. If such a spoilt child was to be absorbed, it would lead to the total destruction of Hinduism sooner or later.

Jambhekar, on the other hand argued that if the challenge of the missionaries was not boldly faced, and the aggression was not checked in time, it would weaken the Hindu religion. When the Shankaracharya upheld the purification of Shripati, there should have been no further difficulty. But the Bombay pandit, supported by the Prabhus, Shrimant Dadaji Dhakaji opposed the move. Jambhekar was threatened with ostracism. It was rumoured that the missionaries of Bombay had bribed the Brahman pandits to vote against taking Shripati back into the Hindu fold.[24]

Vishnu Bhiukaji Gokhale (1823-71), popularly known as Vishnu Bawa Brahmachari, a contemporary of Jambhekar, made a virulent attack through his writings and public speeches on the practices of Christian missionaries. The ways and means adopted by the Bombay missionaries were more subtle and sophisticated than the atrocities of the Jesuits of Goa in 16th and 17th centuries. They could win over the ignorant and poor by service, or by helping them in need, or by providing them facilities for education. They would influence the intellectuals by arguments. Many Brahman families like the Karmarkars, the Modaks, the Tilaks, the Kelkars, the Shehadris, etc., the intellectuals in society, were won over by arguments and debates. Brahmachari believed that the Bristish aggression was more dangerous and ruinous to Hinduism than that of the Muslims. His fight with the missionaries for nearly fifteen years, certainly checked the propaganda and the spread of Christianity in the Maratha country. His Saturday lectures in schools and residential *wadas* were well attended by large crowds that bought the one *anna* admission tickets. As these places could not accomodate the growing crowds, and as the lower castes were not admitted to such places, Brahmachari started lecturing at the Chowpatty beach. These public meetings were attended by Muslims, Christians and Parsis for his interpretation of the Bible. He presented his progressive ideas without fear or favour. His

major work *Vedokta Dharma Prakash* epitomises his ideas on various aspects of religious and social life. [25]

Mass Reversions to Hinduism in Goa

The Shri *Dasbodha*, (periodical) the mouthpiece of the Brahmacharyashram of Masur, Satara, which launched the movement of purification in Goa, in the early decades of the twentieth century, gives a day-to-day account of this movement (1930). During this period there was hardly any opposition from the Portuguese Government, which had become a Republic now. But the vested interests, of the Jesuits, harassed the volunteers of the *ashram* and made their life miserable according to the accounts of this movement given in the periodical of the *ashram*.

The leader of this movement was Vinayak Maharaj Masurkar's disciple Anand Murti, who launched it at Chimble in April 1927. It is estimated that nearly 3,300 *gavadas*, for whom the movement was initially started, were readmitted *en masse*, in a very short period. The gavadas spread over Chimble, Karmali, Tagaon, Kurk, Kalapur, were Christains in name only as they did not observe or know any Christian practices expect those of baptism, wedding and funeral. They attended the church services for these three rituals only. In practice, however, they were Hindus, having their same dress, diet, and customs. The *gavada* community of about 20,000 or more, was a major group of the Goan population which was purified in this century.[26]

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26

2

POSITION OF MARATHA WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

The early years of the seventeenth century present a bleak and depressing picture of life in Maharashtra. The remnants of the Bahamanis were struggling hard for survival against the mighty power of the Mughals. The century, therefore, was in a politically disturbed state. The severe famine of 1629-30 had dislocated the economic life of the country, and during this critical period Shivaji was trying to consolidate his position against the alien powers in the Deccan. The activities of Shivaji constantly plunged the country into war.

Under such circumstances normal social life lost much meaning. The tone of life in general was dictated by the disturbed atmosphere of the age. The conditions of the time were unpropitious for a civilized life in which alone women might enjoy an exalted status. However, as compared to the Muslim women, whose activities were confined mostly to the harems or domestic life, and who enjoyed less freedom, the women of Maharashtra, it appears from the contemporary sources of knowledge, were enjoying more freedom in the political, social and economic activities in the country.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to describe the position of women in Maharashtra in Shivaji's times with the help of certain contemporary, and near contemporary sources.

Marriages were usually settled by the parents.[27] Child marriages were quite familiar. Shahaji was married when

he was hardly ten years old.[28] About the marriages in the Deccan, Thevenot, a contemporary French traveller writes "the Indians marry their children very young, ... they celebrate matrimony at the age of four, five or six years, and suffer them to bed together when the husband is ten years old and the wife eight.[29] Both Thevenot and Careri[30] describe at length the marriage ceremonies of the Hindus in the Deccan.[31]

Monogamy was the common form of marriage, though polygamy was not entirely unknown. However, it was confined mostly to the royal families or the nobility. Shahaji had two wives[32] and his son Shivaji had eight.[33]

The records of this period refer to a tax called Patdam i.e. a tax levied on the marriage of a widow of one of the lower classes.[34] The several references to this tax reveal that widow re-marriage was a regular feature in Maharashtra.[35] Such a widow re-marriage has been referred to in a paper as *gandharva-vivaha.*[36]

The practice of sati was not unknown in Maharashtra; but it was not common as we find among the Rajputs. It was confined mainly to the higher classes of the society, where re-marriages were prohibited. After the death of Shahaji (1664 A. D.), his wife Jijabai decided to become a sati, but the public remonstrances of her son Shivaji and other responsible persons, held her back.[37]

The Marathi Records refer to a number of instances of sati. The widow of a Brahman of Nasik became sati, after conferring her property on her relations.[38] A woman from Jedhe family became sati when her husband fell on the battle-field.[39] Both Tavernier[40] and Dr. Fryer[41] had mentioned the prevalence of the practice of sati in Vengurla, a town near Savantwadi of the present Ratnagiri district. Similar references to the practice of sati are found in the writings of many travellers who visited this part of India[42] during the seventeenth century.

After giving a graphic account of the sufferings of women and the social injustice inflicted on them, Thevenot writes," the Gentiles (Hindus) make the glory of widowhood, to consist in being burnt with the bodies of their husbands when one asks them the cause of it, they say it is custom; they pretend it was always so in the Indies and so they hide their cruel jealousies under the veil of antiquity."[43] Dr. Fryer who came across this practice at Vengurla, scornfully writes," here it is permitted the women not only to burn with their dead husbands, but here are many monuments raised in honour of them."[44]

The maintenance of widows and orphans was the responsibility of the family. A childless widow could stay with her parents and claim maintenance from her husband's family.[45]

The Maratha woman, particularly of the Kunbi class, assisted her husband in the calling of the family in addition to her routine domestic work. It appears from the records that women played significant roles in war, politics and business of the family. The Raibagin of Mahur (Nanded District) referred to as Rajvyagri in Shivabharat[46] bears a testimony to the gallantry of the women of Maharashtra. The Deshmukh of Mahur, who was an ally of Aurangzeb, died while fighting for the Mughals. His wife continued to serve the cause of the Mughals, and earned the title Raibagin- i.e. a tigress,-- from Aurangzeb. She was allowed to enjoy the *Desmukhi watan* of her deceased husband.[47]

The Raibagin was associated with the Mughal army during their raid on the Marathas in 1661. When she found that the Mughals would not check Shivaji, she requested the Mughal Commander Kartalbkhan to surrender himself to Shivaji.[48] A news-letter of thana Supa of the year 1662 mentions, "Raibagan who had been on patrol with her troops returned the same day in the evening."[49] She was subsequently captured by Shivaji's people in 1670. The

Tanik -I-Shivaji mentions that when she was brought before Shivaji, she was treated kindly as an imperial mansabdar and a woman, and then sent back to her jagir near Aurangabad with presents of robes of honour,cloth and ornaments.[50]

The services rendered by Jijabai, the mother of Shivaji to the political and social cause of Maharashtra deserve much attention. During the critical days of the early period of Shivaji's life she showed tremendous courage in facing the situation and bringing up Shivaji as a prince. Her share in the training of Shivaji was certainly great.[51] When Shivaji's life was in danger at the time of Afzal's attack, she summoned courage and blessed him to face the ordeal.[52] She managed the affairs of the Maratha State effectively, during the period of Shivaji's confinement in Agra fort.[53]

Jajabai took active part in the business of the state. She decided certain disputes regarding 'miras' lands,[54] granted lands to a Brahman woman[55] and helped the needy persons in performing marriages of their daughters.[56] A contemporary record reveals that a needy father received twently five hons and some quantity of grains by the order of Jijabai for feeding about five hundred persons at the time of marriage celebrations.[57]

She took lead in the purification of Bajaji Nimbalkar who was converted to Islam, and gave her grand daughter Sakhubai in marriage to Mahadji, the son of Bajaji Nimbalkar.[58]

Saibai, Shivaji's first wife has been reported to have acted as counsel to him when he was invited by the king of Bijapur for a personal interview.[59]

The widow of a Shete could successfully carry further the money-lending business of her deceased husband.[60]

Maharashtra witnessed a rise of women-saints who contributed richly to the devotional songs of this period. Bahinabai, of Devgao (Aurangabad District) wrote

devotional songs which are sung even now in Maharashtra. Her autobiography occupies a unique place in Marathi literature. Bahinabai regarded herself as a disciple of Tukaram. Other women-saints of this period were Venubai, Bayabai and Ambabai, were the devotees of sant Ramdas, and who composed many devotional songs to propogate the cult of Rama.[61]

There are many folk-lores in Marathi language describing the strained relationship between the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law. Occasionally we find references to such frictions in family papers, sometimes resulting in the suicide of the daughter-in-law.[62]

The right of holding property, it appears was not denied to women in Maharashtra. Shivaji had conferred the Patilki *watan* of Valhe village upon his daughter Sakhubai, and later on Rajram cancelled the right of Valhekars to the same office and granted it to his daughter Soyarabai.[63] A woman from Shirke family received two villages in mokasa from Sambhaji. Ramchandra Nikanta Amatya's wife and daughter received two villages in *inam*[64] from Rajaram as token of the recognition of the meritorious services rendered by him for the prosperity of the state.[65]

A widow of a deceased soldier used to receive land grant from the state for her maintenance.[66] Sometimes pensions were granted to the widows by the people of the village. A decision of the village council fixed the pension of the widow of a village priest, who had to sell his property to clear his debts.[67]

Women, it appears, affixed their signatures and also symbols on legal documents. A legal document signed by a woman bears the symbol of a pair of bangles.[68]

No society hitherto existed is, perhaps, immune from the vice of prostitution. It was, perhaps, tolerated with a view to securing harmony and solidarity of family life. Many references to such immoral trafficking are found in

contemporary literature and family papers. Women of base character have been referred to as kunbin (a female slave girl), rakha (a kept women or mistress), *Kunthin* (a pimp or go-between), *Ganika* (courtsean or harolt), *Vyabhicharini* (adultress), *dasi* (a female slave servant), *shindali* (whorish, unchaste woman), *sauri* (a neuter who adopts the female's garbs or a forward and unblushing woman), kolhati (*a nauch girl*), *batki* (a female slave girl prostitute or loose woman), *Murali* (a female dedicated to the god Khandoba), Surath (a beautiful woman), *Natakshala* (a concubine). Tukaram, the saintpoet of this period gives a graphic description of the behaviour and activities of such women.[69] A Factory record mentions that several dancing women, subjects of Shivaji were alleged to have fled over to Bombay and Moro Pandit had demanded their possession.[70] A deshmukh wrote to the widow of a patil to send four or five good looking fair complexioned *kunbins*, coming from good families. He had sent one person, with 25 hons to meet the widow and purchase the kunbins.[71] A special apartment was provided for the *kunbins* on the fort.[72] D. V. Kale distinguished between a kunbin and batik in these words-- "a Government slave labouring at forts is a *batik* and is less well off than her sister who is called a kunbin when she labours in the household of some rich person including the Peshwa himself. *Batiks* were not always neglected by their husbands. *Kunbin* was a very serviceable servant offering herself to any use her master would put her to and was not considered pure for being received back in her caste. *Kunbis* were thus chattel and were subject to the customs duty"-- *Kunbins* were chosen for their special qualifications and their bodily glance.[73]

An *inam* land was granted to a dancing girl by Shahaji, was later on confirmed by his son Shivaji.[74] A patil may have progeny form a *batki*, but her son cannot claim a share in the *watan* land of the patil.[75]

It appears that people did not consider the existence of

prostitution as something evil or unusual. However, adultery was not always tolerated. A woman, employed as a menial servant, if found guilty of adultery was fined. This fine was to be recovered from the employer of her husband,[76] An adulterous woman was declared as outcast and was thus forced to lead a miserable life.[77]

Dr. Nandapurkar draws a picture of women-folk in India in general as depicted in Mahabharat of Mukteshwar, a seventeenth century poet of Maharashtra. It can be assumed here that while describing the women-folk in general, Mukteshwar had the women of Maharashtra before him and therefore the conditions he describes are essentially the conditions prevailing in Maharashtra of the period under review. From his analysis it appears that, in general, women were much devoted to their husband who were gods unto them; they were very pious and religious minded. For the solidarity of the family and love of their husbands they bore all hardships. They were not educated but were very proficient in cooking and other house-hold duties.

Nevertheless, there was no dearth of immoral and debased women. Adultery was found among widows and women of jobless husbands. *Jarinis* and *kultas* were found in every society. Mukteshwar describes in detail the deterioration of women-folk and preaches morality and good behaviour to them.[78]

Shivaji treated woman with great respect. His enemies too commanded his fairness in matters of women and religion. How Shivaji honoured the captured Muslim woman, the daughter-in-law of the Subhedar of Kalyan, is well known. He said, “If my mother Jijabai had possessed your beauty, I too should have looked as handsome.”[79]

When he conquered the Pradhangad, he found the mother of the *gadkari* hiding herself behind a bush to avoid molestation at the hands of the enemy. He bowed down before her, treated her with all respect and honour and

made arrangements for her return.[80] The Raibagin belonged to the enemy camp, but he did not put her to death or disgrace her when she was captured by his soldiers. He, on the contrary, gave her jewels, clothes and set her free.[81] The highest testimony in this respect comes from Khafi Khan who writes-- "he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God or the women of any one.....[82]

Thus it can be said that women of this period were treated with respect and honour and considered as important in many social activities. They had proved their mettle in war, administration, business, and other activities. Shivaji's magnanimous attitude towards them, in fact, had made others to emulate his example.

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27 Occasionally force was used in bringing about a particular marriage. Shiva Charitra Sahitya (S. C. S.) Vol. 3, p. 649.

28 91 Qalmi *Bakhar* (Wakaskar Edition, 1930), Articles 3 &9.

29 Sardesai G. S., New History of the Marathas (N. H.M.) Vol. 1, p. 267.

30 Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, (Ed. Dr. Sen, p. 117),

31 Ibid, p. 117 & 248.

32 Shivaji and His Times -- Jadunath Sarkar, 6th Ed. p. 19

33 N. H. M. p. 267.

34 S. C. S. : 2, 128.

35 Peshwa Daftar, 31 : 104; Sen. S. N. Administrative System.... Calcutta 1976 p. 246.

36 Rajwade, vol. 15:279.

37 Sabhasad: (Wakaskar eidition) p. 64.

38 Shivakalin Patra-Sar Sangraha (S. P. S.) I :301.

39 Shiva Charitra Pradeep, p. 28.

40 Tavernier's Travels, p. 181.

41 New Account, Dr, Fryer (II), p. 377.

42 Bernier p. 307-15, Manucci, Vol. 2, p. 97; Tavernier, Vol.2, p. 163-64, Peter Mundy, Vol. 2 p. 179-180.

43 Travels of T & C., p. 118-120.

44 New account, Vol. II, p. 377.

45 S. C. S. 2: 291 340.

46 Shivabharat canto 25:52.

47 91. Q. B. Sane version, Art. 26.

48 Shivabharat canto 29:1-12.

49 Selected Waqai of the Deccan, Ed. by Dr. Hussain p.87.

50 91 Q. B. Sarkar Version, Art 35.

51 Shivabharat, cantos 9 (70-74) & 10 (30-40).

52 Sabhasad, p.12

53 Shivaji and his times : op. cit. p. 136.

54 Miras means an hereditary office with land attached, S. C. S. 2 : 108.

55 Sanada Patre, p. 102.

56 S. C. S. 10 : 30.

57 Rajwade, 17:16.

58 Shivaji Souvenir, Ed. Sardesai, p. 185.

59 91 Q. B. Sane Art 29.

60 S. C. S. 2 : 103.

61 "The poet-saints of Maharashtra during the period of Shivaji" -- an article in Shivaji Nibandhavali by J. E. Austin, Vol. I Part II, pp. 16-21.

62 S. C. S., 3-466.

63 P. D. 31 : 67.

64 Mokasa i.e. village granted in *Inam*, Ibid 46.

65 S.C.S. 3; 431.

66 Raj. 20 :177.

67 S. P. S. I. 221

68 S. C. S. 291.

69 Tukara*machi* Gatha : Govt. edition, abhangas 455, 467, 677, 683, 2858, 3036, 4268, etc.

70 English Records on Shivaji (Ed. Paranjape BG Vol. II p.87).

71 S. C. S. 4-724.

72 Raj. 8-19.

73 Shri. D. V. Kale's unpublished Thesis, p. 290-91.

74 Sanada patre p. 145-46.

75 S. C.S. 2-340.

76 Raj, 8-32.

77 S. C. S. 2 : 340.

78 Muktamayurachi Bharate, p. 160.

79 Sarkar, p. 56.

80 91 Q. B. Sane, 30.

81 91 Q. B. Sarkar, 35.

82 A Source book of Maratha History, edited by Rawliknson and Patwardhan, Bombay, 1921. p. 143.

3

RELIGION AND THE BASSEIN CAMPAIGN OF 1739

It is generally believed that religion was the chief motive behind the first campaign of Bassein by the Portuguese in 1534 against its Muslim rulers and the second campaign by the Marathas in 1739 against the Portuguese rulers. In the description of the assault on Bassein in 1534, the Portuguese sources make mention "of the religious procession carrying a crucifix, the singing of the hymn of St. Sebastian, -- for it was on the day dedicated to this saint, the 20th of January, that the assault was given by the Vicar-General Bastiao Pires -- a real crusade in India against the Moors."[83] *Sashtichi Bakhar*, a Marathi chronicle, and a few contemporary Marathi documents maintain that the Portuguese policy of religious intolerance and proselytization on a mass-scale forced the Marathas to oust them from the North Konkan and capture Bassein, the court of the Northern Province.[84]

It is worth studying the real motive of the Marathas in the Bassein campaign of 1739 in the light of the available Marathi sources on this topic. The parties involved in this campaign in the initial stages were Gangaji Naik Anjurkar, a member of the Pathare Kshatriya caste, Antaji Raghunath Kavale, a member of the Deshashtha Yajurvedi sub-caste of the Brahmanas, and the Peshwa Bajirao I and his brother Chimaji Appa, of the Chitpavan sub-caste of the Brahmanas.

Historical Backdrop

North Konkan to which Bassein belongs has a long antiquity. It had witnessed the rule of the Mauryas, the Satavahanas, the Kalachuris, the Chalukyas, the Shilaharas (the vassals of the Rashtrakutas), and the Yadavas. When the Yadavas were attacked by the Khaljis,Ramadevaraya's son Bhimadeva or Bimba Deva left Devgiri with his royal priest Purushottampant Kavale in the last decade of the thirteenth century and settled in North Konkan with Mahim (Mahikavati) as his capital. It was later on conquered by the Muslims, and Bassein became a part of the Muslim kingdom of Gujarat.

Nuno da Cunha, the Governor of Portuguese India (1529-38) who shifted the centre of Portuguese power from Cochin to Goa in 1530, was instrumental in bringing Bassein under Portuguese rule. The King of Portugal, as a ruler of the sea, expressed his desire to capture Diu, which was held by Sultan Bahadur Shah, the grandson of Mahmud Bigaraha of Gujarat, and Cunha spent his entire term of office in trying to get Diu, but met with little success. But in this transaction the Portuguese got Bassein from Bahadur Shah, who needed their support against Humayun, the Mughal emperor, in 1534.[85]

Cunha had already collected useful information about Bassein which was "a sea-port town of great trade, where ships used to resort and convey timber to Mekka for the building of the Turkish fleet in the Red Sea."[86] Cunha had no plans to occupy it, as they had a better port-town, Chaul, in their possession, but he had resolved to attack and destroy its fortifications. This was done in 1532 at the cost of great suffering and loss of the inhabitants of Bassein. The victory was celebrated with a grand banquet to the army in a mosque. "Thus ended the capture of Bassein. It began with religious procession and the singing of hymn, and finished with a sumptuous dinner with fifty casks of wine."[87]

The Muslim king of Gujarat initially was offering only a place for a Portuguese factory on the island of Bassein. But Cunha demanded the full possession of the whole district along with its dependencies of land and sea. The king had no other alternative in view of the threat of the Mughals but to accept it and thus by the treaty of 23 December 1534 Bassein was passed on to the Portuguese.[88] Martin Afonso de Souza received possession of the new territory which covered the area along the coast from the bay of Agashi to the tip of the island of Karanja.[89]

Bassein in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to have been a prosperous port-town. Its fort was built by Cunha in 1535 and the city was well fortified. Within the walls of the city only the better class of Christians or fidalgos (nobles) occupying stately mansions lived and artisans and banias were pushed outside the city walls. It was dominated by the Christian population, as one report says that in 1720 the total population of Bassein was 60,499 of which 58,131 were Christians and 890 were Europeans. This means only 1,478 or over 2% of the total population were Hindus.[90]

The fidalgos who had married and lived there were enjoying large incomes from the villages which were granted to them in perpetuity by the King of Portugal in recognition of their services to the State.[91] It was a healthy city because of its clear weather, temperate heat and wholesome climate. Its major products were rice, sugarcane and plantains, which were purchased by the English, Turks, Arabs, Gujaratis and other merchants for export purposes. Teak-wood produced in its vicinity was very useful for ship-building.[92]

When the Marathas captured Bassein in 1739, it was considered as a great victory over the Europeans.[93] The English were alarmed by this event, “which brought them (Marathas) unpleasantly near to Bombay itself.”[94] They felt

that the defence of the Bombay harbour could be made by securing Bassein fort, Salsette and other islands in the neighbourhood.[95] The arrival of a fresh naval force of the Portuguese was interpreted by the English as the preparation for recapturing Bassein, which was obviously baseless.[96] Raghunathrao, the aspirant for the Peshwaship, sought the help of the English and by the treaty of Surat in 1775 agreed to cede Salsette, Bassein and the other islands. The Poona Government first refused to accept the terms of the Treaty. Circumstances compelled them to allow the English to retain Salsette, but they refused to give Bassein by the Treaty of Purandar of 1776.[97] However, the English captured Bassein in 1780, and thus gave a serious blow to Maratha prestige. As the English suffered defeat at the hands of the Marathas in the First Anglo-Maratha War, they restored Bassein to them by the Treaty of Salbai, of 1782.[98] But it was at Bassein that the last Peshwa, Bajirao II mortgaged the Maratha power with the British by concluding the famous Treaty of Bassein on 31 December 1802 and the Maratha power was finally liquidated by Elphinstone in 1818, when the English fulfilled their long cherished desire of the acquisition of Bassein.

Bassein Campaign

The hostility between the Portuguese and the Marathas started when Kalyan was occupied by the Marathas in 1719-20. However, it assumed a serious turn when they captured the fort of Thana in 1737, which culminated in the capture of Bassein in 1739. The campaign which lasted for twenty-five months is regarded as one of the greatest military achievements of the Marathas. The Portuguese too acknolwedged the military dexterity of the Marathas in this episode. The Governor of Goa confessed in his letter to the King of Portugal in 1745 that the loss of North Province not only lowered the prestige and income of the

Portuguese in Asia, but also lost the confidence and the respect of the people. The neighbours, who were afraid of them before 1739, were now planning to oust them from this country.[99]

The Portuguese, who were convinced of the strength of the Marathas under the fighting Peshwa Bajirao I, were always avoiding any major conflict with them.[100] Bajirao also knew that Bassein was a bone of contention among the Siddis, the English and the Angres. He, therefore aimed at friendly relations with the Portuguese as far as possible. The Portuguese were also seeking help from the French of Pondicherry with ammunition and men.[101] The parties thus involved in this campaign were, besides the Portuguese and the Peshwas, Gangaji Naik of Anjur, Antaji Raghunath Kavale of Vasai and Brahmendra Swami. In the following pages the attitudes of these parties towards the campaign are examined with a view to finding out the real motive behind the attack on Bassein.

The Portuguese Policy

The Portuguese did not make a secret of the religious implications involved in their political rule. Their policy of religious intolerance is considered as one of the major factors of the ultimate decline of their political power in India. The Jesuits selected Goa as their second headquarters outside Rome. The arrival of the Franciscan missionaries in Goa in 1517, followed by the coming of St. Francis Zavier in 1542, made the spread of Christianity possible. The King of Portugal's orders of 1540 regarding the destruction of Hindu temples and the institution of the Inquisition in1560, seriously affected the religious life of the Hindus in Portuguese India.[102]

Simao Botelho, the author of the Tombo do Estado da India (1554) (Inventory of the Land), wrote to the King of Portugal in 1552, "The religious in this country desire to spread so freely and give so many alms at the expense of

your revenue that a large part of it goes in this. There are already as many who desire to favour Christianity that a great part of the revenue is alienated and the country round Bassein in depopulated. I believe they act from the best motives and that your Highness is well served but there seems to be a mean which might be the best course as there are some who want to force people to be Christians and who worry the Hindus so that, as I say, people fly from the land. Let your Highness do what is right."[103] Botelho was an honest and clearheaded administrator who could see the danger into which the country was drifting. The ecclesiastical supremacy in Portuguese India caused a great drain on the poor resources of the government.

The Inquisition was introduced in Sashti in 1575 and people of Bassein suffered a lot as a consequence of it. A few people were burnt alive and their houses were razed to the ground. A record says, "In this same district (Bassein) we discovered in 1840 a part of a flat stone raised in 1736 on the site of a house which the Inquisition had ordered to be razed to the ground. This carried an inscription which reads as follows : "They being dogmatists of the said sect, practiced rites and ceremonies with the participation of many other persons, and for this were condemned by the Holy Office and being delivered to secular justice burnt in the *Auto de Fe* celebrated on December 30, 1737. It was ordered that their houses should be demolished and ploughed with salt and this tone erected in detestation of the said crimes."[104]

The Inquisition was closed in 1774. Hindus were punished but according to Pissurlencar they were rarely burnt alive like other criminals.[105] The Portuguese authorities in a letter of 19 Apirl 1737 had confessed that the torture of the Inquisition in Bassein made the Hindus there join hands with the Marathas. If they were granted freedom like the people of Diu, the people of the Konkan

would not only have non-co-operated with the Marathas but would have helped the government to drive them out from Vasai. But this sound piece of advice was not accepted by the superiors.[106]

The policy of conversion on a large scale created wide-spread discontent among the people of the Konkan. A Marathi chronicle says that when the Portuguese captured a part of the Konkan by defeating the Muslims, they did not interfere with social or religious life of the Hindus. They restored the *watans* to the legitimate holders and allowed people to practice their religion. But after a period of twenty-five years they started threatening the people that if they did not accept their religion, they would be sent as prisoners to Goa. As a result of this some people left the Konkan and others were perforce converted to Christianity.[107]

The Portuguese government passed a number of laws for the propagation of Christianity which caused considerable harassment to the people. A book called *Livro do Pai dos Cristados*, a compilation of the copies of the various laws made by the Portuguese in this respect, is preserved in manuscript form in the archives of Goa.[108] The Portuguese, who had cultivated hatred against *Maharashtra Dharma,* i.e. Hindu Dharma, according to a few contemporary Marathi sources, imposed various restrictions on the religious practices of the Hindus. Hindus were prohibited from building temples and Muslims from erecting mosques. The presence of a Portuguese official at every marriage as a witness was made compulsory. No Hindu was allowed to perform any religious functions at home and if he was found guilty of that, his house was plundered and he was sent to Goa for a period of two to three years as punishment. He was not allowed to keep a chamber for gods-*devara*-in his house and offer worship on auspicious days. Even the raising of a *tulsi* plant and its worship was not permitted. When a person died leaving

behind him his only minor son, without any close relations except the widow of the deceased person, the boy was converted to Christianity. People were, therefore, appealing to the Marathas to undo the work of the Portuguese and enhance the prestige of *Maharashtra Dharma*, a term which found a place in the subsequent treaties with the Portuguese. They often captured a number of innocent Maratha women and children from the Maratha villages and put them under captivity with a constant threat of conversion, to bring pressure on the Marathas.[109] Thus the religious persecution of the Hindus by the Portuguese seems to have contributed to the circumstances leading to the Bassein campaign of 1737-39.

Gangaji Naik Anjurkar

Who took the initiative in inducing the Marathas to undertake military operation against the Portuguese rule at Bassein and who should be held responsible for the ultimate victory, are some of the issues often discussed in connection with the Bassein campaign of 1737-39. The parties involved in it are Gangaji Naik, Antaji Kavale, Brahmendra Swami and finally the Peshwa.

The editor of the Marathi chronicle called *Sastichi Bakhar* maintains that the chief figure in the Bassein campaign was Gangaji Naik, whose role cannot be ignored by historians. Gangaji considered the liberation of Bassein as his life's mission and his tenacity coupled with the determination of Chimaji Appa made the Bassein campaign successful. This chronicle was, therefore, described as the Epic of Gangaji Naik.[110]

The Naiks of Anjur belong to the Pathare Kshatriya or Prabhu caste and their original family name was Rane, but during the period of King Bimba Deva they acquired this new title Naik in recognition of their valour. Originally they were the inhabitants of Bandra but by 1580-90 they

migrated to Kavale and later on to Anjur and Kalyan in Thana district and settled there. Gangaji's father Nimbaji was keen on ousting the Portuguese from the Konkan and he sent his agent Prahlad Joshi to Chhatrapati Sambhaji to help him but the premature death of Sambhaji thwarted his plans. His son, Gangaji took up his father's mission got himself involved in the Bassien affair nearly for two decades... till the Portuguese were ousted from there. He first approached Kanhoji Angre for help but he showed little interest in the work. His visit to the Angres was reported to the Portuguese officer by some miscreant person and he was arrested for a while by him. Later on he made attempts to contact Khanderao Dabhade but by 1720 the Peshwa had occupied Kalyan and put his brother-in-law Ramchandra Mahadeo Joshi Chaskar as Subhedar of Kalyan, and Gangaji, therefore, thought it beneficial to negotiate with the Peshwa through the Subhedar of Kalyan. He persuaded Bajirao to conquer *'Phirangan,'* make Shahu Chhatrapati the king of the Konkan, and act as his Peshwa. He also requested him to release his *watans* from the Portuguese and restore them to the Naiks. The Subhedar of Kalyan accepted this on behalf of the Peshwa. By 1722 Gangaji shifted to Kalyan and also met Shahu at Satara along with his brothers.[111] He told him, "We are the old *watandars* of Vasai, which is now under the Portuguese, who destroyed the temples and the sacred places which caused the disappearance of *Maharashtra Dharma*, Hindus were baptised. We were enjoying the *watan of nadgaude*, which too was confiscated. We, therefore, migrated from there and shifted to Kalyan with family. This story is narrated with a view to inducting you to conquer Vasai and establish your rule, restore Hinduism, install gods, and release our *watans* .... As we are well acquainted with that region, particularly the fort of Vasai, Thana and the creeks with their land and sea routes, we will help you."[112]

Gangaji became impatient as the Peshwa did not take

immediate steps to punish the Portuguese. Bajirao was involved in several other operations of imminent importance; he, therefore, adopted the policy of appeasement towards the Portuguese during 1726-30. Gangaji was so much disturbed by this that once he even thought of giving up his cause and leaving the Konkan. He sent his brothers to Pune to convey his intentions to the Peshwa.[113] In 1733 Bajirao met Gangaji at Kolaba, and consoled him.

The *bakhar* of Gangaji in the preamble narrates the atrocities of the Portuguese and then gives a detailed account of the activities of Gangaji to get his grievances redressed. It says that the kingdom of Bimba Deva was captured by the Firangi, who confiscated the *watans* of the landlords and baptised most of the people of Sashti and Vasai. On the death of the father all the children in the family were forcibly converted; the people became unhappy and migrated to the south; religious rites could not be performed, religion was doomed... places of pilgrimage disappeared, temples and idols were destroyed; many churches were built and Christianity was promoted; nobody was allowed to move freely in the region; if a person was found performing any religious function, his house was besieged and his neighbours if found in his house were also arrested and thrown into prison; as Brahmanas had left the place, *Maharashtra Dharma* could not be performed; even if a small stone, of the size of a betelnut, but resembling an idol, was found in a village, the entire village was proselytised; they did not care for justice; there was nobody to protect *Maharashtra Dharma*; the Marathas, particularly the members of the Pathare caste (to which Gangaji belonged) as compared to the Shenvis, Prabhus, Vanis, Banias, etc. suffered most.[114]

The *bakhar* ends with this request, perhaps to the Chharapati “the wicked Firangi who has occupied our region, be uprooted, the rule of Maharashtra be established, the *Maharashtra Dharma* be restored; the

sacred places be liberated, the old *watandars* be confirmed in their *watans* --this was the plan submitted to the god Shri Morya, and most of it is executed, but the *watans* of the *watandars* are not released, the *watan* of Gangaji was also not released which made him to stay in Kalyan"[115]. Gangaji was very sore about the policy of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao who refused to return his *watan* on the pretext of heavy expenditure of the campaign. Only the *watan* of Sarpatilki which was lower in rank was granted to Gangaji.[116]

Gangaji, according to a Portuguese source, was chiefly responsible for inducing the Peshwa to undertake the campaign. His ancestors had suffered during the period of the Inquisition; he had been deported to Goa and converted to Christianity. He escapted from Goa and entered into the Hindu fold after proper purification. The Naik (the source says Ganesh- but it must be none other than Gangaji) developed animosity against the Portuguese and narrated stories of religious tyranny of the Portuguese to the Peshwa.[117] It was but natural that Gangaji should remain dissatisfied, as he was not properly rewarded. It is indicated by the editor of the *Bakhar* that the work of Gangaji Naik in the campaign not only preceded but also was of greater significance than that of Antaji Kavale.[118]

Antaji Raghunath Kavale

Antaji seemed to have played a significant role in the Bassein campaign as can be seen from the correspondence between him and the Peshwas from 1729 to 1742. It appears from this correspondence that Antaji appealed to Shahu Chhatrapati to relieve the Hindus from the religious tyranny of the Portuguese in Bassein, and Shahu in his turn directed Peshwa Bajirao to look into this matter.[119]

Antaji was the descendant of Pursuhottam Kavale, the royal priest of King Bimba Deva, and had received the

watan of Sardeshmukh and Sardeshpande of the North Konkan in 1299. The *danpatra* issued to the Kavale family tell us the Bimba Deva purchased for twenty-four hons the *watan* from Changunabai, the widow of Govind Mitakari, who died issueless. This *watan* covered the area of sixteen *parganas*, having 1624 villages. Purushotam Kavale Paithankar was a Vajseniya, i.e. Deshastha Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmana.[120] Antaji and his brother Raghunath enjoyed the confidence of Bajirao who assured him that he would help them and also Gangaji Naik in getting back their *watan* confiscated by the Portuguese during the period of the Inquisition. He also informed him that Shahu had given him necessary permission to attack Bassein and that he would be sending Pilaji Jadhav soon to make preparations for the attack. He was at the same time asked to guard himself against the Portuguese who regarded him as their greatest enemy and requested him to keep himself away from their boundaries.[121]

Bajirao approached the Portuguese through the English to get the release of the *watans* of Kavale. The Bombay Government expressed its inability in these words: "That you are aware that the decisions of such claims (suits) rests solely with the Government that granted the *Inam* and that no other (government) can interfere and this being so, it is useless for the said Antaji Raghunath to justify his claims, nay for any Government to interfere with its authority or request, if the said Antaji Raghunath is accused before the Inquisition over which the Royal Authority itself has no power." This reply convinced Bajirao that the policy of conciliation would not work with the Portuguese. The Peshwa, however, granted in 1731 all the *watan* lands with their perquisites to Antaji Kavale.[122]

Antaji, it seems, had even approached the Portuguese Government at Goa independently of the Peshwa in 1731 for getting his *watan* back.[123] When Pilaji Jadhav came to know about it, he informed the Portuguese General on 28

September 1731 at Bassein that Antaji was a cunning fellow and should not be taken at his word. He was cultivating friendship with both the Marathas and the Portuguese.[124] The Peshwa perhaps did not attach much importance to these allegations, as he had asked Vasudeo Joshi, the officer in charge of Kalyan, the base of all military operations, to refer all matters regarding Bassein to Antaji, who was camping at Pune in 1732.[125]

Pilaji Jadhav due to ill-health could not continue his charge in the Konkan, and proceeded to Vagholi for recovery. Antaji's services therefore were transferred to Krishnaji Chaskar, the Subhedar of Kalyan, but he, it seems was not satisfied with him, as he was complaining that Krishnaji he was indifferent to his task. He urged the Peshwa in 1734 that this was the most opportune period to attack the Firangis and that he would help the Peshwa in capturing the 4 forts and 157 villages in no time, i.e. in one night, provided the ears of the Peshwa were not poisoned by some mischievous persons. If his promises turned to be false, he would cut off his tongue as a punishment. However, the officers in charge of Kalyan, particularly Vasudeo Joshi, wrote to Chimaji Appa in 1734 that Antaji would not achieve anything but lead the Marathas to ruin in the long run. There was no consistency in what he said and what he wrote and he was not praiseworthy nor reliable. That Antaji and Gangaji were given the charge of the political affairs of Bassein was also resented by the Peshwa's officers.[126] Antaji was suspected by the Maratha officers of being a spy of the Portuguese, supplying all secret information about Thana to the Portuguese officers at Bandra. The Peshwa was urged to punish him or remove him from Thana and send him to Kalyan, lest his treachery would land them in difficulties, if no timely action was taken. It was further added that the people of Bombay were amazed to find that the Marathas were not aware of the relationship between Antaji and the Portuguese.[127]

The Bassein campaign was successful, but the heroes of the campaign, Bajirao and Chimaji, did not live long to resolve the subsequent problems. The supporters of Antaji suggested that the Peshwa succeeded in the military operation against Bassein. The *kaul* (edict) which the Peshwa granted to Antaji in 1731 revealed the confidence that Antaji was enjoying of the people of Bassein who were not prepared to accept the *kaul* if Antaji was dropped from it.[128] Antaji started claiming his *watan* after the campaign, but Peshwa Balaji Barirao delayed the matter for which he had to incur his wrath. Antaji died issueless, but his sister's son, Tukambatt Javale, of village Palasi, in spite of the opposition from the Chitpavan Brahmanas of the North Konkan, succeeded in acquiring the religious leadership of the Konkan.[129] Gangaji considered the role of Antaji as insignificant in this campaign. It was he who introduced him to the Peshwa, and therefore Antaji could not be held primarily responsible for the success in the Bassein campaign.[130]

Brahmendra Swami and the Peshwa

Brahmendra Swami, according to his biographer. D. B. Parasnis, was also responsible for the Bassein campaign as he was for the campaign against the Siddis. However, the biographer himself confesses the difficulty in establishing his claims on the basis of the only fourteen letters of the Peshwas which indirectly refer to this matter. His main argument is that the fact that Shahu, Bajirao and Chimaji were engaged in it means that Brahmendra Swami must have been their source of inspiration. The fact is Chimaji Appa was simply informing the Swami and seeking his blessings and attributing all success in Bassein to him, perhaps just to avoid his wrath and get the payment of loans taken from him postponed.[131]

The role of the Peshwa in this entire affair was of the utmost importance. It was clear from a letter of the Siddis

of 1736 that Shahu was interested in the Portuguese possessions since the acquisition of Kalyan in 1719. It would be difficult to say that the Bassein campaign was planned to promote *Maharashtra Dharma*, though the chronicles and Marathi documents support this view.[132]

The people from Bassein other than Antaji and Gangaji had approached Bajirao in 1735 and described the atrocities of the Portuguese. A Sardesai, on behalf of the Hindu population and *watandars* of the Konkan, requested the Peshwa to deliver them from the oppressive rule of the Portuguese. According to him, the time was most opportune as the Portuguese were in difficulties and all people would help the Peshwa in reducing them. It was also pointed out that the Portuguese were maintaining a register of all young and old Hindus, perhaps with a view to converting them to Christianity.[133] Bajirao however was postponing the military operations against the Portuguese because he feared that they might open negotiations with the English for help and promise them Sashti in return and also try to win the Siddis to their side.[134] The preparation for the military operations began in 1737 and Chimaji Appa gave the final blow to the Portuguese on 10 May 1739.

However, the point which deserves some attention is whether the Peshwas were fighting for a religious cause or a political one. In view of the policies of expansion that Bajirao was pursuing and his attitudes towards the Mughals, it seems unrealistic that the Peshwa was fighting for propagation of *Maharashtra Dharma*. If at all this motive was there, it must have been quite subsidiary. The Marathas during the course of their negotiation with the Portuguese throughout this period insisted on two conditions for peace : first, Hindus should be allowed to build temples in the Portuguese territory and second, the Portuguese should pay tribute to the Maratha king from the villages as they were doing to the Chauthia Raja of Ramnagar and the Koli Raja.[135] They also suggested that

the Hindus be allowed religious freedom, exemption from the *shendi* tax and the Inquisition-- but they did not insist much on these conditions to be followed by the Portuguese. The Viceroy also said that the Marathas never insisted on religious matters, in several rounds of discussion the Portuguese had with them.[136]

In the final treaty concluded on 12 May 1739 the conditions which appear to be religious were :-

1. Christians, Hindus and Muslims, if they desired to leave Bassein, necessary assistance to be given to them by the Marathas.
2. Christians willingly staying in Bassein be allowed to pursue their religion and their properties be not confiscated. This was also applicable to the Hindus and the Muslims as well.
3. All the three churches in Bassein be protected, the statues and ornaments be not touched by the Marathas,[137]

What was the major interest of the Marathas in this campagin ? According to the Portuguese sources, the Marathas were chiefly interested in the expansion of their power and capturing the ports on the west coast. It was also suggested that like the Angres, the Marathas would adopt piracy as a source of income and a weapon to become powerful on the sea.[138]

In January 1739, the Viceroy of Goa had drafted a letter for Shahu Chhatrapati in which he had mentioned that according to him the present conflict with them for Bassein was to procure a sea-port for the promotion of the trade and commerce of the Marathas. If his assessment was correct, he was prepared to give a port-town to the Marathas to avoid conflict. The English also held similar views as it was mentioned in the despatch of 23 September 1737; “Their apparent chief aim has for a long time been the getting a sea-port for themselves... and this view of acquiring a port or settlement on the sea-coast

must be considered as the principal motive that have determined the Marathas to their invasion, perhaps it may have been hastened by the well grounded complaints of Gentoo Bretheren under the Portuguese Government who have been made frequent examples of the cruelty of Inquisition which have been exercised upon these unhappy subjects with equal severity, ignorance and superstition." The Maratha intention was confirmed in this respect by their shipbuilding activity and the maintenance of the naval force at Arnala.[139] The Peshwas, hailing as they were from the Konkan, were also acquiring some hold in their land of origin. One Maratha, Yesaji Raghunath, congratulates Bajirao in 1733 on his achievements in the North and requests him to pay some serious attention to the Konkan, a land full of advantages and which was moreover the *watan* of the Peshwas.[140]

Thus, in conclusion it can be said that Gangaji Naik and Antaji Kavale were interested in getting back their *watans* confiscated by the Portuguese during the period of Inquisition and the Peshwas were interested in extending the Maratha power on the sea-coast to check the Siddis, the Angres and the English and also secure a strong footing in his *watan* land, the Konkan. Religion only served as a background for the achievement of these material ends.

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114 ibid, 1-6 (text). this description is corroborated by Portuguese records also. Pissurlencar, 166.

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4

RAJGAD

THE FIRST CAPITAL OF SHIVAJI

Maharashtra is a land of strongholds. The network of forts throughout its territory, has moulded the character of its people. Captain Graham[141] in his famous report on Kolhapur says "A strong-hold upon every hill as if inviting the inhabitants to depend upon themselves instead of upon the sovereign's support and encouraging in each petty chieftain that spirit of independence, which is so striking a characteristic of the natives of the southern Maratha country."

Grant Duff,[142] the first comprehensive historian of the Marathas also conceded that from a military point of view, there is probably no stronger country in the world than Maharashtra.

The fort as an important organ of the body politic has been recognized since ancient times. Kautilya, Manu, Shukra of the early period and Basavraj, Parmanand, Ramachandrapant Amatya of the later period duly emphasis the significance of forts in the defence and protection of a kingdom. A king without forts has been likened to a cobra without poison-fangs, or an elephant without rut.[143]

The part played by forts in shaping the history of the Marathas need hardly be exaggerated. The *Ajnapatra*, an early 18th century treatise on Maratha polity written by Ramchandrapant Amatya, not only underlines; the importance of forts, but also gives instructions regarding their construction and efficient administration. It would,

therefore, be interesting to compare the principles laid down by Amatya in a later period with the earlier policy adopted by Shivaji in the construction, administration and fortification of Rajgad, which happens to be first fort capital of the new Maratha state.

Situated as it is on one of the spurs of the Sahya ranges known as Murab or Murum hill, Rajgad commands the Gunjan-maval valley of the present Poona district. The fort acquired the name of the hill in the initial stages though it was called by one or two different names in the later period of history. A casual glance at the relief map of the region round about Rajgad would at once reveal its inaccessibility and impregnability. Torana or Prachandgad, the sentinel of Rajgad, lies to its west.

Rajgad (18^0 15'N and 73 41'E) can be approached from Poona by three routes. The Poona-Nasarpur Margasani-Gunjavane route covering a distance of about 35 miles south of Poona takes us to the foot of the hill leading us to the Gunjavane gate of the fort. The second route branches off from Velhe at Pabe and leads us to the Pali gate. This route must have been much in use in the medieval period because it is wide enough to take horses, elephants, etc., to the fort. The third route is from a village called Male situated in the catchment area is the Bhatgar lake about three miles south of Rajgad which takes us to the Suvela *machi*, through Kaleshvari or Dindi gate.

Brief History

Rajgad, formerly known as Murumdeo or Murumbdeo[144] was included in the Jagir of Shahaji which was bestowed on him by the Nizamshahi rulers of Ahmednagar. After the extinction of the Nizamshahi dynasty Shahaji entered the service of Muhammad Adilshah of Bijapur. His former Jagir was continued by his new master, but all the forts in it were retained by the Sovereign power under its control.

Sabhasad, the nearly contemporary chronicler of Shivaji tells us that Shivaji named this fort as Rajgad.[145] probably before 1656. But an *Adilshahi farman* of 1660 still referred to it as Murumgad.[146]

A contemporary record mentions that as far back as 1642-43, Rajgad was in the possession of Shivaji.[147] But this statement does not appear to the probable. The Jedhe Karina or account of the Jedhe family, states that Shivaji had already started construction at Rajgad and Torana prior to the invasion of Purandhar by Fath Khan, the Adilshah commander, in 1648. It means that Rajgad was under the firm control of Shivaji earlier than 1646, otherwise he would not have started large scale construction on it.[148]

Gunjavana Gate

Bale-Qila - Main Gate

Rajgad became the centre of political activities of Shivaji after the death of Dadoji Kondadeo, in 1647. It is associated with a number of major political events of the Maratha period. It was from Rajgad that Shivaji started to meet the first major calamity in his life namely that fateful meeting with Afzalkhan in 1659 leaving his mother and son well protected at Rajgad. The siege of Panhala that followed the Afzal episode, the assault on Shahistakhan at Poona in 1663, the negotiations with Jai Singh in 1665 and the departure for Agra in the same year to visit Aurangzeb and the return home in 1667, Sambhaji's safe return from Agra in 1667 and the birth of Rajaram in 1670 are the

major events with which the name of Rajgad fort is associated. By the Treaty of Purandhar in 1665, Shivaji ceded twentythree forts to the Mughals, but not Rajgad. It was from here, after his return from Agra, that he planned the recapture of all forts ceded to the Mughals.

The Mughals under the leadership of Jaisingh made an attempt to capture this fort in 1665; but the Marathas repulsed this attack with such a vigour with rockets, canon, and musket-firing that the Mughals had to lift the siege on the pretext that the region was too hilly.[149]

During the period of Sambhaji, Rajgad was a centre for supplying forces to the adjoining regions like Rohidkhore.[150] Like other forts this fort was always a bone of contention between the Marathas and the Mughals during the period of Rajaram. After the execution of Sambhaji, the Mughals must have taken possession of this fort, as we find Ramchandrapant Amatya making strenuous efforts through Kanhoji Maral Deshmukh in 1690 to recapture the fort from the Mughals.[151] It remained the chief centre of political activities of Rajaram, after 1690 till his death. It was from Rajgad that Rajaram, left for Kondana and died there in 1700.[152] It was retained by the Marathas till it was captured by the Mughals on 16th Feb. 1704, and was renamed as *'Nabishagarh.'* Santaji, a valiant member of the Silimkar family in charge of this fort, met with a heroic death during this fight.[153]

However, the Marathas strove for regaining the possession of Rajgad. During the period of the struggle for independence, a Maratha sardar Gunaji Sawant, recaptured it from the Mughals in 1707.[154] Shahu Chhatrapati planned his Vishalgad Campaign in 1708 from Rajgad. Under the second Peshwa a garrison of 2000 *mawalas* was maintained through the Sachiv on this fort to check the Siddis of Janjira.[155]

Rajgad, like many other forts of Maharashtra did not play any significant part under the Peshwas, partly

because of the change in the theatres of war or due to the northward expansion policy of the Marathas; but mainly due to the shifting of political centres from hill forts to cites on the plains. It remained under the Sachiv family of Bhor, a small principality, till its merger in the Indian Union after 1947.

Administration

The administration of a fort was generally entrusted to three main officers-- Havaldar, Sarnobat and Sabnis.[156] Rajgad being the capital of Shivaji till 1670, it must have been managed by a number of superior officials. It was under the direct control of the Maratha Kings till 1690.

Rajgad falls in the jurisdiction of the Gunjan maval region of which the Silimkars were the hereditary Deshmukhs. The Silimkars had earned the title of 'Haibatrao'. Mahajar of 1657 deciding a family dispute of partition gives the generalogical information of the Silimkar house. Santajirao was a special officer *(namjad)* of the fort and as such enjoyed certain concessions from the state. He was exempted from paying the usual share to the state, namely ¼ of his income from the *inam* lands and ¼ of his income from the perquisites. He had six and half villages as *inam* villages and 74½ villages from which he collected two maunds of grains and five takas cash per village as Deshmukhi rights.[157] Santajirao was enjoined by the Sachiv to humble down the Mughals and capture the fort of Rajgad. He fought a pitched battle against the Mughals and sacrificed his life for the cause of the nation. In recognition of his meritorious service, his son Prataprao received the honour of *Senapanchahajari* and an annual remuneration of 1500 hons,[158] and his widow Godabai received 100 hons per year for her lifetime as maintenance allowance.[159]

Rajgad has three terraces or *machis* and perhaps each terrace was under the charge of a separate Havaldar

working in consultation with the Chief Havaldar if any. We find reference to Shahaji Mohite being mentioned as the Havaldar of the Padmavati *machi*, the most important part of the fort. In addition to this, the Padmavati *machi* had an additional sarnobat. A letter of June 1665 mentions that in the absence of the havaldar of Rajgad, or sarnobat of the Padmavati *Machi*, Keso Narayan, the Sabnis, should look after the administration of the *machi*,[160] Sidoji Thopate was the Sarnobat of the Padmavati *machi* and was in charge of its *sadar*.[161] It was a centre of refuge during the period of crisis, and as such the needy persons were looked after by the officers of the *machi*.[162]

We do not get details of the other administrative staff of the fort, but in view of the political significance attached to this fort, one can presume that the fort must be having a number of civil and military officials till 1670.

Construction

Shivaji was well adept in the art of fortification. A foreign biographer of Shivaji pays him glowing tributes in this behalf by pointing out that he understood the art of fortification better than the ablest engineers.[163] He took great interest in building, renovating, improving forts in his territory. He was prepared to employ the services of skilled foreign artisans by paying wages at higher rates than the usual for building forts and castles in his region.[164]

Rajgad enjoys a unique position among the forts of Maharashtra. It possess all the salient features of fort architecture which are peculiar to the Deccan region. Its numerous monuments, ramparts, bastions, etc. reveal a happy blending of Hindu and Muslim architecture. Originally, its construction must have been started by the Muslims but its final and perfect shape was the achievement of Shivaji, who designed its plan with great care and insight.

Pali Gate

Pali Gate

It appears that the constructional activity at Rajgad under Shivaji started by about 1648, must have continued with vigour till 1670.[165] But even after 1670 we find him setting aside an appreciable amount of 10000 hons for construction and repairs at Rajgad, for one year.[166]

The fort comprises three *machi*s or terraces and a citadel called Bale Killa. It is at a height of 4574 ft. from sea-level. The Padmavati *machi* which spreads to the North-East of the fort is at a height of 3912 ft. and the Suvela *machi* lying to the South-East is 3884 ft. and the Sanjivani to the South-West is 3885 ft. from sea-level, Rajgad looks like a winged bird flying to the sky-- the Sanjivani and Padmavati *machi*s forming its two wings and the *Bale-killa* and Suvela *machi* as the main body. It is guarded by hill ranges on all sides, and it also provides a suitable high platform or mesa which has been used for constructing monuments. It was due to lava formations and the subsequent sub-aerial denundations in Western Maharashtra that such mesas have been formed in this region.

Suvela Machi

Suvela Machi

It is true Shivaji was not alone responsible for the construction of this fort. Nevertheless, all the major constructions including the three *machi*s, was the achievement of Shivaji. He fruitfully utilized the treasure-trove found by him elsewhere in the construction of the forts.

Let us consider the salient features of this fort namely its inaccessibility, *machi*s, gateways, doors, ramparts, monuments, water-supply, etc.

Inaccessibility

Amatya emphasises that a fort should not be easily accessible to anybody.[167] Rajgad was selected as capital by Shivaji because of its inaccessibility.[168] Paramananda enjoins that Shivaji should remain at a very inaccessible place and protect himself from the Adilshah and the Mughal emperor of Delhi (Agra) first and then aspire for world conquest.[169] The fort is not easy of access even today.

The *Masir-i-Alamgiri* describes Rajgad as “a hill second

only to the fort of the towered sky. Its circuit is twelve kos. Imagination cannot estimate its height. Its thorny jungles and spectre haunted chasms can be traversed only by the wind. Nothing can descent on it except rain.!"[170]

Machi

Machi has been described as the trunk of the fort, it is a long and spacious part of the fort. The *Rajvyvahar Kosh* describes it as 'Upatyaka', a plain ground near the top of the hill. It is usually less is height than the citadel.

A *machi* being well fortified, is as good as an independent fort. Sabhasad therefore, aptly says that the fort Rajgad is a group of four *machi*s.[171] As noted earlier, the *machi* is treated as a separate *administrative* unit having all the principal officers of a fort.[172] The *Masir-i-Alamgiri* also treats the *machi*s of Rajgad as three different forts, It states, "Shiva after gaining possession (of Rajgarh) made there terraces on three sides around it on a a lower-level (*machi*) and there built three strong forts namely Suvela and Padmavati situated toward Konkan uplands and Sanjivani on the side of Konkan lowlands.[173]

The *machi*s, though situated at a distance from the citadel are parts of the fort and there is always a network of routes between the citadel and the *machi*s. These *machi*s are well fortified by constructing ramparts, towers, parapets, etc. as the protection of the fort depended on them.

Shivaji undertook the construction of the Eastern terrace first, and named it as Suvela, which signifies the importance of the East, the direction of the rising sun. The legend goes that while constructing this *machi* an unfortunate event took place. The magazine of the fort exploded and the havaldar was blown high up in the sky and thrown to another *machi* which is to the south of the fort. But to everybody's surprise, the havaldar survived this accident, and the *machi* acquired the name - Sanjivani -

the life-giving terrace. Lastly, the third and more spacious terrace, the Padmavati *machi* was completed by 1663 after strenuous efforts of nearly four years.[174]

The Suvela *machi* is the longest and largest in size. It is a three tier terrace quite broad at the base and tapering at the eastern-end. It can be approached through a gate called Dindi gate of the southern side. A similar small gate is seen to the opposite side of this gate. A striking feature of this terrace is the big hole of about 10' diameter in a solid rock, which can be seen even from the foot of the hill.

The Sanjivani *machi* is a narrow strip of about 1½ miles long. Like the Suvela *machi* this too consists of three tiers. The Padmavati *machi* is a long square strip and it spreads out to the north of the fort. Its main gate is to the west and is known as Pali gate.

Gates

The gates of a fort are generally arranged at strategic points on the steep and winding path of ascent of the fort. Amatya lays down certain norms regarding the construction of gates. According to him the gates of a fort should be built in such a way that they should be safe or not be in the way of bombardment from below, and they should have towers in front which would control the paths of egress and ingress; to have one gate in the fort is a great drawback, therefore, according to the needs of the fort, one, two or three gates and similarly small secret passages should be provided, out of these, those which are always necessary for usual intercourse should be kept open and other doors and outlets should be built up."[175]

The principles enunciated by Amatya in a later period closely resemble the principles followed by Shivaji while constructing the gates of the Rajgad fort. There are four gates called Gunjavane, Pali, Alu and Kaleshwari or Dindi gate. The first two take us to the Padmavati *machi*, the third to the Sanjivani, and the last to the Suvela *machi*.

The Gunjavane gate is approached from the eastern side of the fort via Gunjavane village. One has to cross a distance of about one mile and then climb about forty rock-cut and masonry steps. The gate is strengthened by bastions and rampart walls. Architecturally, it is a simple gate devoid of any decorations. The gate must be having a wooden door of more than 15' in height and 15' in breadth. The iron sockets for its panels are still visible.

Sometimes the doorways of the forts are wide and high with a view to facilitate passage for animals like elephants with their howdahs. The Pali gate fulfils these conditions.

We do not find any remains of the doors now. But usually the doors were made up of thick timber, and were plated and studded with many iron spikes to protect them from elephant attack.

On both sides of the gate there are niches in the jambs for the wooden bar of the door. These bars are drawn out from a nitch or socket in one jamb pressed behind the door and is fixed into the corresponding nitch of the opposite side jamb.

If by chance, the enemy captures the first gate, his movements are checked at the second gate situated at a distance of about 55 feet from the first gate. It is an arched gate resembling the first gate in the facade except for a crude piece of sculpture on the frontal side. The scuplture shows figures of elephants carved, one on each side, holding pitchers in their trunks, and one lotus is shown in the centre. This is partly a Gajlaxmi sculpture carved after the construction of the arch.

The gate is built after the Muslim style. A peculiar feature of the construction is that a long slab of stone joining the rampart and the gate has been put across the corner. There are break joints which give strength to the construction and prevent it from rupture.

A *deodi* of about 6' in height inside the gate was the guard room. By the side of this gate, provision has been

made to drain out the water from the fort.

The pathway to the citadel is too narrow, the steps carved in the rock are very slippery and the deep valley on one side is breath-taking. On two sides of this pathway spread the two *machi*s. Padmavati to the north and Savela to the south-east. One comes across, on the way, a huge broken boulder, a water storage tank cut into the rock and a gate in dilapidated state leading to the Padmavati *machi*.

The three-arched gate of the citadel is an imposing structure and still stands in a good condition, supported by strong octagonal bastions on either side. The frontal portion shows some panels on either side, on which are sculptured designs and figures like lotus, false nitch, swastik. etc.

In order to reach this gate one has to climb a number of rock-cut and hewn stone steps and 11 broad stone steps. It has no door now, but the iron sockets, and the nitches for the sliding timber bar on both sides, clearly establish the possibility of a strong two panel door. The gate wall is about 7 ft. thick and the height of the door from the centre is above 12ft. and the total height of the gate is above 17 ft. A very fine view of the Bhatgar dam as well as an aerial view of the Savela *machi* are seen from the top of this gate.

The other gates of the fort namely the Kaleshwar and Alu are architecturally similar to the gates described earlier.

Bastions

Bastions are the projecting parts of the fortifications. Each gate and parts of the ramparts are strengthened with the hill forts. According to this system portions of the outer octagonal or hexagonal, are very carefully built with stone and mortar. Almost every gate has two bastions, and the ramparts of the *machi*s have bastians at irregular intervals according to the contour of the *machi*. Thus the Suvela

machi has 17 strong bastions. Sanjivani has 19, and the Padmavati has sixteen.

Some bastions have additional walls for fortification called armour or *chilkhat*, an interesting structural feature of the Maratha hill forts. According to this system portions of the outer walls of the bastion are protected from inside by subsidiary walls or barbicans erected at short distance from the base at a lower height of the bastion. They not only provide additional protection, but also serve as a cover for the defenders.They have strong steps for climbing. Seven out of seventeen bastions of the Suvela *machi*, and nine out of nineteen bastions of the Sanjivani *machi* possess this striking structural feature. At the extreme end of the citadel, there is one hexagonal bastion in a dilapidated condition. On the left hand side of its parapet, there is one entrance covered with a huge stone slab. This entrance is supposed to lead to the Pali gate. It is a square opening on the platform and there are four steps leading to the door.

On the Suvela *machi*, just in the middle, there is a promontory called Duba thickly covered with small trees and shrubs.

Parapets

Parapet walls are built on the gates and are adopted for defence by musketry and by heavy guns. These walls are built in brick and mortar and have many small square holes above for defence by musket-fire and arrows and large holes below for cannon fire, called *machi*colations.

On the first gate of the Gunjavane route, there are some dilapidated masonry steps to the right hand side taking us to the parapet wall of the gate. On the second gate also there is a narrow curved parapet wall. Similar parapet walls varying in size and height are to be found on almost all bastions.

Ramparts

The most important part on the fort is its fortification wall. A casual glance at the fort from the citadel will give an idea of the wide range of these fortification walls. All the three *machi*s have been well fortified. The Suvela and Sanjvani *machi*s had additional fortification walls called *chilkhat* or armour from inside running all along the fortification wall.

The fortification wall of Gunjavane gate, about 5' to 6' in height runs from the right hand side of the gate and is pierced with loop-holes called 'jangyas' or *machi*colations of 2.2" in height and 1.4" in depth at irregular intervals for mustket-firing from the fort. The left hand side of the fort is protected by a huge rock, and a wall built on it at a distance of 5' to 6' from the right hand side wall. The height of this rock-wall from the base of the gate is about 35.' The hills of the Deccan are strewn with granite boulders which have been used in building these walls.

The Most striking feature of the fortification wall is the *chilkat* or an additional fortification wall of the Sanjivani and Suvela *machi*s. The difference between the outer fortification and the subsidiary inner wall is about 2 feet and the depth of the recess is varying and in some places it is about 20 feet. The inner wall has some openings or outlets for reaching to the outer wall. The space between these two walls must be providing good shelter to the defenders of the fort when attacked from without by the enemy. Most of the girdle wall of this multiple fort is still *in fact*, a living testimony to its impregnability.

The citadel is erected on a huge rock, and it has natural fortification. Yet to secure further protection a fortification wall of 5' in height with bastions has been built around the citadel.

Monuments

All the four parts of the fort have remains of buildings

which included residential quarters, *sadars* of secretariates, granary, magazine, market, temples, etc.

The Suvela *machi* had a few residential quarters, whereas no traces of such buildings are found on the Sanjivani *machi*. The Suvela *machi* shows the remains of the residential quarters of veteran Maratha sardars like Tanaji Malusare, Yesaji Kanka and Silimkars, the early associates of Shivaji who rendered meritorious services to the cause of Maratha independence.It seems that each house had its own arrangements for water supply.

The Padmavati *machi* being wide and long, was a busy and important centre of the fort as remains of a number of buildings are found here. This *machi* seems to be the chief centre of the residence of the king as we find a place for Royal flag near the palace. There is a wooden flag pole fixed on a circular stone basement. Besides the plan of a big palace, which can be compared with a similar, but bigger royal palace at Raigad, is seen on the *machi*. No traces of construction of this palace are visible, but the very open space i.e. the plinth divided into many compartments gives an idea of the largeness of this structure. It can be said here, that Shivaji gained experience at Rajgad and fruitfully utilizsed it at Raigad while constructing the palace, the court and other buildings.

The citadel shows the remains of a row of long buildings beyond the market. This building is about 100 ft. in length and 18 ft. in breadth, and is built in stone and mortar. This seems to be divided into 8 to 10 compartments each having two apartments. These are perhaps the residential quarters of the military personnel or officers of the fort. The remains of five such buildings are found on the citadel.

The *Bale-Killa* being a very well protected and safe area, there must be some residential quarters for the royal personages, on the highest spot of the citadel, though we

cannot pin down a particular building or buildings as residence of the king. There is one building which is about 33 ft. long and 11 ft. broad with a thick stone wall of about 2½ ft., an open verandah and a round passage of 3 ft, in width round the central part of the building. This may be either royal residence or office of the king.

The state offices *(sadar)* were situated at all the four parts of the fort, though their remains are found only at the Padmavati and the Citadel. The *sadar* or the audience hall of the Padmavati *machi* where Shivaji was supposed to be transacting state business is a stone-building divided into three parts. In the frontal part of the office there are four wooden cyprus pillars with inverted bell shaped capital. Most of them are fallen now. On the central portions we find four stone bases on which wooden carved pillars were resting as can be concluded from the holes in the stone bases. This structure is in a dilapidated condition; and it is difficult to get an idea of the whole structure of this building from the remains.

An important feature of this fort is the business quarter or bazaar. Behind the Brahmarishi temple, there is an irregular row of houses on both sides of the path, suggestive of a row of shops. It reminds the onlooker of the huge planned bazaar or shopping centre built by Shivaji at Raigad. It appears that Shivaji made experiments at Raigad and gave a final shape to his ideas at Raigad, his next capital. The market at Raigad is a small one, each row having five or six shops of two apartments each; and the road dividing the two rows is about 15' wide.

The identification of some of the buildings of the Padmavati *machi* and the citadel is rather difficult, as almost all of them are in a ruined condition. On the Padmavati *machi*, at the back side of the palace, there is one rectangular hall built in masonry which is about 70' long and 10' broad with holes for ventilation on the back wall. The wooden beams used in this structure are even

now visible. These are the stables. Another building here which is 31' long and 12' broad seems to be the granary or *Ambarkhana* of the fort.

The remains of a building on the citadel seems to be that of a *Darukhana* or magazine. It is usually away from the rest of the buildings. Amatya also states that the powder magazine should not be near the house or near the compound of any house.[176]

There are a group of temples on the *machi*s and the citadel of the fort. As Shivaji and his successors believed in the maintenance and daily worship of these temples, grants must have been given to the priests to conduct worships at these temples. We find a Brahman of Raigad receiving Rs. 75 as *varshasana* or annual grant from the state, obviously for rendering religious services to the deities on the fort.[177]

The Suvela *machi* has a group of temples of Rameshwar, Ganesh, Kalleshwar, Bhagirathi, etc. All these temples are in a ruined condition with broken images and sculptures. The Padmavati *machi* has a temple of the four-handed Padmavati goddess. The present structure with corrogated tin sheets on the roof is recently constructed. It has a big hall and the corrugated tin roof is resting on old wooden cyprus pillars. To the south-east of this temple, there is a dilapidated temple of Shiva having a broken phallus with a *Jaldhari* in the altar, and a small Nandi outside the temple.

There are two temples on the citadel, immediately after the main gate, one is that of Janai and the other of Brahmarishi. In the Janai temple, which is in a dilapidated state, there is a big lingum-like boulder still in worship. The temple seems to be of a later period. The temple of Brahmarishi situated by the side of the beautiful pond is a simple rectangular structure without any architectural features. Some of the temples might have been desecrated during the Muslim period.

One gets a very fine view of the entire surroundings of the fort from this spot near the Brahmarishi temple. One peculiar feature of Shivaji's mountain forts is that you get a vision of the other important forts in the vicinity from the top of one fort. Just as Sinhagad shows Rajgad and Torana; Raigad shows Lingana, Pratapgad and Rajgad as well. From the mond on which the Bramharishi temple is situated one can locate Rajgad and Lingana to the west. Torana to the north-west with its two *machi*s Budhala to the left and Zunjar to the right; Purandhar to the East, and Sinhagad to the north-east.

Water supply

Amatya has rightly emphasised the importance of water supply on a fort, as he says,' after first finding out if there is water in the place, then a fort should be built... Tanks should be made on the cliffs of forts in places where there is black rock having no cracks. If there is even a small crack, it should be seen that by applying *chunam* (lime mortar) no leakage takes place."[178]

The system of copious water-supply which exists to this day on this fort will give support to the principles of the Ajnyapatra. The Padmavati *machi* has a tank towards the north of the Padmavati temple, with two big walls running north-south towards the east and west of the tank with a gate in each.

The wall has arches and a platform to the other side of the tank.

The pond near the Brahmarishi cistern containing crystal clear water is carved into the rock and divided into five compartments filled with water. There are some steps inside leading us to the water of the pond. Between the second Gunjavane gate and the citadel, one comes across a deep well filled with water. There are one or two ponds on the citadel, but they are dried up now. As the water-supply on the Padmavati *machi* was better than that of the

citadel, it appears that, that *machi* must have been the major centre of activity in the medieval period.

Such was the first capital of Shivaji. This well fortified, though small, fort-capital helped Shivaji in gaining firm footing in his own land. After 1670, the increased activities of the Maratha state must have necessitated the shifting of the capital to a more spacious place. Raigad a distant and obscure, but well suited place for a capital, was selected by Shivaji with a view to keeping himself well away at a safe distance from the Mughals and Adilshahi power to enable him to devote more time for the consolidation of the Maratha state. The change of capital, did not undermine or diminish the importance of Rajgad, as we find that during the most heroic period of Maratha history, it became once again the centre of political activities under Rajaram.

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5

RAM SINGH AND SHIVAJI'S ESCAPE FROM AGRA

The escape of Shivaji from Mughal captivity at Agra is one of the enigmas of medieval history, which has not been resolved satisfactorily. Historians of the Marathas like Scott Waring, Grant Duff, Jadunath Sarkar and Sardesai have not dealt satisfactorily with this point.

Scott Waring held Ram Singh, the son of Jai Singh, responsible for Shivaji's escape from Agra, and thereby justified the punishment inflicted on him by the Emperor.[179] Grant Duff held that Ram Singh was privy to Shivaji's design and on account of the pledge given by his father, connived at his escape.[180] Both these accounts were primarily based on Persian documents and Marathi chronicles (*Bakhar*s) of a later period.

Jadunath Sarkar probed more deeply into this fascinating and romantic episode of Maratha History and put forth a large volume of evidence from Rajasthani letters and Persian Akhbars. With the help of this new material, he presented a graphic account of Shivaji's visit to Aurangzeb at Agra and his escape from there. However, he too was not successful in explaining this puzzle of escape. He disposed of this issue by saying, "Suspicion naturally fell on Ram Singh."[181]

Sardesai did not make any special contribution in this behalf but simply summarized or retold the story presented by Sarkar.[182]

In short, a hearing at the bar of history has been denied

to Ram Singh and his case has been unceremoniously dismissed by all the great historians of the Marathas.

An attempt has been made in the following pages to analyse the role of Ram Singh in Shivaji's escape with the help of Rajasthani, Marathi and other contemporary or nearly contemporary sources.[183] This new material does not basically alter the broad outline presented by Sarkar. However, more details can be obtained by referring to these unpublished sources.

The Treaty of Purandhar (1665, June) :

It seems that Aurangzeb was not fully satisfied with the terms of the Treaty of Purandhar concluded by Jai Singh. By this Treaty, Shivaji ceded twenty three forts and retained only twelve with him. A careful study of these two lists of forts, will clearly reveal that the forts ceded to the Mughals, except Purandhar and Kondana (Sinhagad) did not play any significant part in the history of the Marathas,[184] whereas those retained by him were the key forts of his territory controlling the borders of the new state in the making. Rajgad, Torana, Rairi (Raigad), Asheri, helped at various stages, the building up of the Maratha State. Again, most of these forts like Sudhagad (Bhorapgad), Sarasgad (Pali), Rajgad, Torana belonged to his swaraj territory. Rajgad and Torna, Rairi and Lingana were pairs of forts acting as sentinals to each other.

Aurangzeb who had a good knowledge of the geography of the Deccan, did not attach much importance to the boast of Jai Singh who wrote, "Now that we have taken away from him (Shivaji) the forts not one of which had hitherto been besieged and taken by anybody and now that we have hemmed him round, like the centre of a circle (with our possessions), if Shiva strays by a hair's breadth from the part of obedience, he can be totally annihilated by us with the slightest exertion."[185] He retorted, "Out of the twelve forts left in the possession of

Shivaji, five lay in between the imperial forts that in view of the sedition, mischief and unreliability of Shivaji, there should not have been left to him and that the entire territory should have been cleansed of the stains of his existence."[186]

Jai Singh must have first demanded all forts but in the course of negotiations he must have conceded certain demands of Shivaji.[187]

As Aurangzeb was quite aware of the strategic importance of forts, he did his best to persuade Shivaji to hand over the keys of his forts to him during his stay at Agra. He knew that a Maratha warrior behind the curtain walls of his forts, if adequately provided with maintenance was more powerful than a huge army of besiegers. This was realized by the English a little later as can be seen from a report which says, "If the hill (Rairi) be furnished with provisions, a few men may keep it from all the world."[188] Shivaji, however did not yield to these persuasions.

Being dissatisfied with the Treaty, it is likely, Aurangzeb had evil designs on Shivaji when he reached Agra.

The news of his visit was, therefore, received by him with great satisfaction, as he writes to Shivaji, "Come here without delay in full confidence in my grace and perfect composure of mind. After you have obtained audience of me, you will be glorified with my royal favours and given permission to return home."[189]

Shivaji's visit

The Treaty of Purandhar did not specifically stipulate the visit of Shivaji. He had not accepted the idea of a visit to the imperial court or of any *mansab* or military service under Mughals. He had surrendered some of his forts and agreed to help the Mughals, if they required his assistance in the Deccan affairs.[190]

Jai Singh aimed at the extinction and annexation of Adil Shahi Kingdom to Mughal power. This would have not only raised his prestige in Mughal court, but also helped to secure honourable position for his son therein. The presence of Shivaji in the Deccan would have been a great hindrance to his policy. He, therefore, persuaded Shivaji to pay a visit to Aurangzeb. As the Bijapur compaign dragged on, he requested the Emperor through his son,[191] "under the present circumstances it is not at all politic to permit him to come to this region and that he should be detained there in a worthy manner, so that his officers here may not despair of his return and thus be induced to join Adil Shah and create distrubances against us." He equated the detention of Shivaji at Agra with the supply of fresh army to him in the Deccan.

He must have instructed Ram Singh to pay personal attention to the requirements of Shivaji. When Shivaji was short of funds Ram Singh advanced him Rs. 66,000 against his *'hundi,'* to be realized by Jai Singh in the Deccan.[192] It means that both of them wanted that Shivaji should not find any excuse for returning home immediately.

The fundamental question is-- Why did Shivaji agree to visit the Emperor ? Sarkar imagines two possibilities : Firstly, the possibility of his getting the viceroyalty of the Deccan and secondly forcing the Siddi, through the Emperor, to cede Janjira to him.[193]

As Shivaji had never expressed his desire to enter Mughal service, it is hardly believable that he was interested in the viceroyalty of the Deccan. Secondly the Siddi was not yet under the strict control of Mughals, and as such the question of forcing him to cede Janjira to Shivaji does not arise.

He must have undertaken this trip, perhaps with a view to get first hand information of Aurangzeb's court and his policies towards the south. He was primarily interested in consolidating his position in the Konkan. This involved a

constant warfare with the Bajiapur Kingdom. A policy of appeasement with Mughals, therefore, would have given him a free hand in the Konkan. Besides, it was customany to pay a visit to the Emperor after the conclusion of a treaty.

Shivaji took nearly nine months after the Treaty to undertake the journey to Agra.[194] During this period he made necessary arrangements for the administration of his state while he was away and also held discussions with his ministers and others.[195] It was during this period that he tried to create good will for himself in Mughal court and army by associating with Mughals against the Adil Shahi power.[196]

Sabhasad writes that Shivaji requested Jai Singh to accompany him to Agra but the latter skillfully dissuaded him from insisting on this condition.[197] However he assured his safe return and promised him every assistance at Agra through his son Ram Singh.

Sardesai maintains that Shivaji undertook this trip to ascertain the practicability of his dream of Hindu Empire.[198] No authentic and contemporary sources emphatically state that Shivaji was aspiring for a Hindavi Swaraj or Hindu Empire. His claims were always modest i.e. to consolidate his position in the newly acquired territory. It would, therefore, be improper to attribute such motives to this visit.

Thus a visit to Aurangzeb at Agra was a matter of policy for Shivaji, it was not due to force or compulsion on the part of Jai Singh as it is sometimes alleged.

Grounds for suspicion

Shivaji was not received according to this expectation at the imperial court. The Emperor did not speak a word to him and was made to stand in a much lower rank. He was not offered the promised robes of honour (Khilat), and was humiliated by offering a rank equal to that of his son and

commander.[199] This must have led him to suspect that the Emperor harboured some evil designs against him. It appears that even Ram Singh[200] and Jahanara Begam[201] the sister of the Emperor, had suspected the evil motive of Aurangzeb.

When Shivaji sent away his troops,[202] the Emperor had issued orders that "If ever Shiva were to escape from Agra and Mujabad *pargana*, he should be detained."[203] Shivaji must be getting all information about the plots being hatched against him through some of Aurangzeb's people whom he had won to his side. For, four days prior to his flight, the Emperor had tightened the control over him and had also expressed a desire to kill him or to remove him to the *'haveli'* of Raja Vithalda.[204]

After gathering this information, Shivaji tried to contact his custodian Ram Singh and seek explanation from him of this changed attitude. But Ram Singh did not meet him at all. Instead, he instructed his people "to tell the imperial guards not to let Shiva come even to my residence; let them tell him that the Emperor has forbidden his coming to my place."[205]

This sudden change in the attitude of Ram Singh was ominous. It must have led him to feel that his fate was sealed and even Ram Singh would not save him from the evil designs of the Emperor.

Shivaji's approach

The idea of escape must have germinated in his mind from the day of his meeting the Emperor at the court on 12th May, 1666. This was their first and last meeting. It is interesting to know how he tackled the issue of his escape.

(a) Courtiers : He moved freely for a few days among the influential members of the court and made an assessment of each of them. It is surprising to note that persons like Jafarkhan, Begam Sahib[206] and others who

were jeering at him when he first visited the Emperor, suddenly undertook, to plead his case before the Emperor.[207]

Jahanara was hurt, as Shivaji had plundered the city of Surat recently, from which she was enjoying certain privileges. She, therefore, resented the mild attitude taken by the Emperor against the imprudence of Shivaji in the court and doubted the advisability of this policy.[208] To Jaswant Singh he was an ordinary 'bhumiya' a landlord.[209]

This anti-Shivaji attitude among the courtiers, in fact, must have enabled the Emperor to confirm his plan of putting an end of Shivaji while he was at Agra. But suddenly the scene changed, and the same Begam started pleading the case of Shivaji before the Emperor. She told the Emperor, "If you kill him, no one will have any faith in your assurance."[210]

By June 1666, Shivaji had won or rather purchased the support of Jahanara, Jafarkhan, and Muhammad Amin Khan Bakshi[211] except Jaswant Singh.[212] One of the Rajasthani news letters mentions that Shivaji sent sweets and twenty seven bundles of cloth to Jafarkhan, who, in return paid full robes (Sir-o-pav) and two hundred rupees to carriers of these presents.[213] Amin Khan Bakshi gave passports (*dastaks*) to Shivaji's men, perhaps, without much hesitation, of course this was done with the approval of the Emperor who thought that the disposal of troops would be helpful to him.[214]

(b) Ram Singh : Ram Singh was the chief custodian of Shivaji at Agra, who had signed a security bond for him and who was prepared to do any amount of sacrifice to keep his promise to his father and the Emperor.[215] In case Shivaji escaped or did any mischief, Ram Singh would have been held responsible.

Shivaji, it seems was anxious to get rid of Ram Singh's control over him and to release him from the bond. He did

not want that he should suffer for him. A news letter of Parkaldas gives expression to the feelings of Shivaji towards Ram Singh in which Shivaji has been reported to have said, "I have come here to die, so you should not incur the wrath of the Emperor; you should better send me to Jafarkhan."[216]

Secondly, Shivaji must have found it difficult to entrap Ram Singh, a resolute person with great integrity and above temptation, in his plan of escape. He too, therefore, adopted a second line of action to get rid of him. He petitioned to the Emperor, thinking that he would readily agree with him," issue orders for a residence for me to which I can remove, but do not keep me here in the custody of the Kumar." This petition was summarily rejected by the Emperor.[217]

Ram Singh would have never agreed to his plan of escape as it was detrimental to the stupendous task in which his father was engaged in the Deccan since 1665. Jai Singh had used "thousand devices" to get Shivaji out of the Deccan as the military situation there was not in favour of Mughals.[218] He was anxious to put an end of the Bijapur campaign and hence he wrote to the Emperor, "Either I will take Bijapur or will be killed in the imperial cause."[219] He was, therefore, asking the Kumar to press on the Emperor that under no circumstances Shivaji be permitted to go to the Deccan immediately."[220]

Under such circumstances, how could Shivaji have converted Ram Singh to his side and persuaded him either to help him or connive at his escape?

(c) Rajputs : Shivaji had purchased the courtiers, but won the Rajputs and other common people by his behaviour. When he was not under rigorous watch and his movements were unrestricted, he used to move about majestically sitting in a palanquin and attended by a small retinue of Shiledars and Bargirs. He created a feeling instinctively among the people around him that 'he was a

ruler of men, and that he was a man of 'high spirit and courage."[221] He had purchased elephants worth about fifteen thousand rupees,[222] perhaps to impress the commonality and these were, later on, given as a gift to the poet-laureate, Parmanand.[223]

He appeared to the Rajputs as "good genuine Rajput and we have found him just what he was reported to be. He tells us such appropriate things marked by the characteristic qualities of a Rajput that if they are borne in mind, they will prove useful some day."[224]

Shivaji, thus, must have arranged through his own people, to circulate good reports about him in the city, and Parmanand Kavindra who had either accompanied or followed him must have been the chief agent in popu*lari*sing the cause of Shivaji among the people.[225]

The Rajputs, along with Muslims, were acting as guards to watch the movements of Shivaji. The number of guards was so much that, as Guarda, the Portuguese biographer of Shivaji puts it, "even the desire to escape seemed impossible, according to the disposition of that capital for there were more guards than stones in that city."[226]

Shivaji and his men must have been engaged in converting these numerous guards to assist them in the plan of escape by presents, bribes, etc.

(d) His troops : Shivaji could procure passports (Dastak) for his people by June, 1666,[227] but they had not crossed the Chambal at the time of his escape.[228] They must have been engaged in finding out routes for a safe return and in watching the movements of the Mughal guards and officers. The fact that the Maratha troops were passing through Narwar, Chambal region,[229] reveals Shivaji's plan to divert the attention of the Mughal officers from the route which he had fixed for his journey.

Who was responsible for the Escape?

The main Persian Sources like Muntakhab-ul-lubab[230] of Khafikhan, Masir-i-Alamgiri[231] of Saqi Must'ad Khan, Alamgirnama of Mirza Muhammad Qasim,[232] etc. unanimously hold Ram Singh and sometimes Jai Singh or both responsible for this super human feat of Shivaji. The Rajasthani news letters and Akhbars do not attribute this act to any individual but simply report the talk of the court and country in their writings.

As regards the Marathi sources, the Sabhasad bakhar indirectly suggests that Ram Singh connived at the escape of Shivaji.[233] But the 91 Qalmi Bakhar[234] as well as the Jedhe Chronology[235] are silent on this point. The Marathi sources corroborate with the Rajasthani at several points. However, as the Rajasthani sources are nearer in time to the event, they should be taken as authentic in case of difference between the two.

The factory records also held Ram Singh responsible for the escape.[236]

Let us examine the part played by Jai Singh, Ram Singh, the guards and Mughal officers in this act of deliverance of Shivaji with the help of the available sources.

(a) Jai Singh : Mirza Raja Jai Singh entered Mughal service in 1617 under Jahangir, when he was hardly twelve years old. Under Shahajahan a mansab of four thousand was conferred on him, which was soon raised to five thousand. He was entrusted the task of subduing Shahaji, the father of Shivaji. He was honoured with the title of Mirza Raja by Shajahan.[237]

He continued to enjoy the confidence of Aurangzeb who assigned him the duty of defeating Shivaji.[238]

As has been pointed out earlier, Jai Singh was anxious to keep Shivaji busy at Agra till he finished the subjugation of the Adil Shahi Kingdom. He had asked his friend Bhojraj

Kachava to convey to Ram Singh that he should behave in such a manner that "neither the imperial power is hurt, nor our promises to (Shivaji) be violated."[239]

When Jai Singh was repeatedly making requests to the Emperor for the safety of Shivaji, he did not, perhaps, anticipate the possibility of Shivaji's escape from the vigilant watch of Mughals. The news of his escape and the consequent punishment inflicted on his son, must have shaken him physically and mentally and he must have died of this shock rather than of old age. The story of his murder either by his secretary, Udiraj Munshi,[240] or by his son as suggested by[241] Tod is unbelievable. It is more probable that this shock and the loss of confidence of the Emperor alone must have hastened his death, or he might have even committed suicide.

He had severely rebuked the Kumar for letting Shivaji escape, which brought him disgrace in his old age.[242] He was, therefore, insisting that Ram Singh should seek the pardon of the Emperor.[243]

Sardesai writes that "Jay Singh played the part of a mediator for reconciling the two opposite views into a beneficient union."[244] But this does not seem to be the correct interpretation, as the Mirza Raja himself wrote to the Emperor, "The intention (Niyat) and resolution (Irada) of your slave had been bent on this : to erase the portrait of his existence from the tablet of Time."[245] Assuming that Jai Singh was writing in a different tone to the Emperor, it would be incorret to think of a Rajput-Maratha pact inducing Jai Singh to act as mediator between Shivaji and the Emperor.

In view of these facts, one is reluctant to hold Jai Singh as a party to the escape of Shivaji from his confinement at Agra, as suggested by the factory records.[246]

(b) Ram Singh : Ram Singh, the eldest son of Jai Singh entered Mughal service at the age of nineteen, and

by about twenty six he was made *'Panchasadi'* (five-hundred) mansabdar.' He was entrusted with the most difficult task of keeping a watch on Shivaji at Agra. But as Shivaji escaped from the Mughal captivity, he had to incur the wrath of the Emperor for some time, but was pardoned later and was restored to his former position immediately after the death of Mirza Raja in 1667. He was in the active service of Mughals till his death and enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor throughout the later period. His successors also held responsible positions under Mughals.[247]

Most of the Persian and English accounts held Ram Singh as the chief culprit. Masir-i-Alamgiri says, that as Jai Singh had advised the Emperor to pardon Shivaji, there was slackness in the guard; Fulad Khan, the Kotwal, was ordered to remove the guards and the Kumar slackened his watch.[248] Alamgirnama also confirms this attitude.[249]

But this does not seem to be the fact, as Fulad Khan's guard which was still there and was tightened four days prior to the flight of Shivaji.[250]

A factory report from Surat to England held both Jai Singh and Ram Singh guilty of abatement as they provided an opportunity to Shivaji for escape.[251]

Bimsen Saxena, who was in the Deccan between 1667-70, expresses the popular belief of those days by making Ram Singh as a party to this escape.[252] Khafi Khan writes that as Ram Singh was suspected of having prompted the evasion, he was deprived of his mansab and forbidden to come to court.[253]

Sabhasad wrote his *bakhar* about 1694. An attempt has been made by him to show that the two Hindu Rajas-Shivaji and Jai Singh - had agreed to help each other in their acitivities.[254] But the Rajasthani and Persian Akhbars do not even slightly refer to the possibility of such a pact between the two.

This bakhar further says that Hiroji Pharjand, a servant of Shivaji, who was disguising himself as Shivaji on the day of his escape, went to the camp of Ram Singh, the next day, secretly narrated the stroy of the escape and left for his home land.[255] Ram Singh then sought an interview with the Emperor and submitted that as the emperor had put his guards on Shivaji, he should not be held responsible for any mischief. The Emperor readily agreed to this and relieved him of his bond.[256]

But this entire account is absurd. Ram Singh never sought relief from the security bond. Aurangzeb's wrath was due to the fact that. Shivaji escaped inspite of Ram Shingh's watch on the inner part of Shivaji's house.

Aurangzeb's suspicion was based mainly on a report made by Fulad Khan, the Kotwal of Agra, and the supervisor of the outer partrol over Shivaji's residence. He reported to the Emperor that the Mirza Raja had written to the Kumar to effect the release of Shivaji by whatever method he deemed fit. The Khan further stated that Harpat Raya, the courtier of Jai Singh was aware of this conspiracy. On the basis of this *arjadasta* -- report, the Emperor reduced their *mansabs*.[257]

The Emperor, however, did not believe outwardly in the charges levelled against Jai Singh, For, in a *farman* addressed to him, he praised the services rendered by him in sending Shivaji to the Mughal court and regretted that his son did not emulate his example.[258] The farman further stated that the Kumar instead of promoting welfare of his master and serving him loyally, encouraged or assisted the enemy to escape,[259] a type of disloyalty which was never done before by any one of his family.[260]Had he not been the son of Jai Singh, a permanent servant of the court, he would have received capital punishment for such an offence, asserted the Emperor. He was denied audience in the court, his rank was reduced and was practically ignored.[261] As he was the surety, he should present Shivaji

to the court, or he should go where he (Shivaji) had gone,[262] maintained the Emperor. He further retorted that he (Jai Singh) should thank god for so mild a punishment for such a grave crime.[263]

Ram Singh's position in this whole affair was a delicate one. He had to please the Emperor as well as secure the safetly of Shivaji as Jai Singh, his father had pledged to that. He was a loyal servant of the court as the emperor had once said "such a faithful servant, there is none like him."[264] But the Khan's report had poisoned the Emperor's mind to such an extent that he did not allow him to conduct the search for Shivaji.[265]

Prejudicies always die hard. The good offices of Jafarkhan, Begam Sahib and others could not melt the heart of Aurangzeb. Hasan Ali, a courtier, therefore, in vain, said, "It is his ill luck that your majesty believes like that."[266]

However, the Kumar was finally pardoned in March, 1667 and was elevated to his former position in September, 1667, i.e. after the death of Mirza Raja.[267]

Why was Aurangzeb against Ram Singh ?

Aurangzeb had realized that the strength of the Maratha King lay in his forts. He had asked Ram Singh to get the keys of forts from Shivaji. When Ram Singh asked for this favour, Shivaji indignantly said, "Your father got Tonka *pargana* as a reward for the surrender of twenty three forts; which *pargana* are you now expecting from the Emperor by making me surrender the remaining forts?"[268]

When after repeated persuasions and intimidations Shivaji refused to surrender his forts, the Emperor must have planned his assasination. But Ram Singh refused to be a party to this plan of the Emperor. When the Emperor ordered him to bring the head of Shivaji, he gave a dignified answer beffiting a Rajput. He said, "If it pleases

His Majesty, I would bring even the head of my son," but as Shivaji was alone -- (he had sent away his troops) it would be unbecoming of him to cut the head of a defenceless person.[269]

This attitude of Ram Singh must have irritated Aurangzeb,and the Khan's report must have supplied him an excuse to ventilate his wrath against him.

Ram Singh, throughout this period, maintained the equilibrium of his mind. He never gave up the idea of changing the heart of the Emperor. The Mughal nobility, which was against Jai Singh did not hesitate to support, Ram Singh. Thus a number of factors must have weighed on the Emperor's mind and forced him to pardon Ram Singh and thereby absolve him from the allegation of abatment with Shivaji in his escape from Agra.

(c) Fulad Khan and his guards : Aurangzeb was by nature a suspicious person. Even though he had entrusted Shivaji to Ram Singh, he had asked Fulad Khan also to keep a watch on Shivaji. Fulad Khan was the Emperor's Chief agent, in sending and bringing messages.[270]

The arrangement of vigilance was like this : the inner patrol consisting of four Brahmins of the Kumar's choice was the sole responsibility of the Kumar; immediately outside this patrol, there was the guard of musketeers supervised by Fulad Khan; and in addition to this, there were 'Minas' (a watchmen community) on guard duty, Fulad Khan's men and Rajput Thakurs posted by the Kumar watching the movements of Shivaji and his people.[271]

How did Shivaji escape then, was really a matter of great astonishment to every one. Even Fulad Khan had expressed his amazement when he first reported the matter to the Emperor, "God alone knows how he escaped, did he persuade the ground to open up or did he fly in the sky."[272]

But being terribly afraid of the wrath of the Emperor, he

produced a fabricated account of Shivaji's escape. He caught hold of those four Brahmin guards placed by the Kumar near the bedstead of Shivaji, and after giving them a strong beating extorted a report from them that the Kumar had let Shiva escape,[273] or Shivaji escaped from the side of the Kumar's patrol.[274]

It is quite obvious from the way enquiry was conducted by the Khan that he wanted to shift the blame to Ram Singh. It is very significant to note that the Brahmans who were forced to give a false account by torture, narrated the true story to Fidai Khan, a superior officer, who released them instantly.[275] It means that Fulad Khan and his guards also could not escape from the charge of connivance or negligence, though they were not subjected to such charges.

In fact, Aurangzeb wanted to kill Shivaji through Fulad Khan, but he changed his mind and tried Ram Singh for this.[276]

The Alamgirnama exempts Fulad Khan from the charge of negligence, as, according to it, his patrol was lifted at the time of escape. In fact as pointed out earlier, no guard was removed, but the security was tightened.

It is, therefore, surprising how Aurangzeb pardoned Fulad Khan who was equally responsible for keeping a vigilant eye on Shivaji.

Conclusion

Thus the foregone discussion, leads us to form the following conclusion: Neither Jai Singh nor Ram Singh was a party of Shivaji's escape. Jai Singh believed that Shivaji's absence from the Deccan for a while would help him to achieve the extinction of the Adil Shahi Kingdom. Ram Singh, being instructed by his father in this behalf, would never agree to Shivaji's escape which was detrimental to the cause of his father, in the Deccan as well as his position in the court.

This means that Shivaji on his own, with the help of his people, must have planned his deliverance. The following factors must have enabled him to execute his escape plan.

1. He must have exploited the situation in the court, namely the party factions and thus won the sympathies of some influential persons like Jafarkhan, Jahanara Begam, Bakshi, etc.
2. He must have impressed the commonality by his generosity and majestic behaviour.
3. He must have created a good will particularly among the Rajputs by circulating good reports about himself through his own people, and most probably through his poet-laureate, Paramanand, who was in the north then.
4. He must have bribed the guards on duty- both Hindus and Muslims - freely and generously and thus made them sluggish in their vigilance.
5. He had his own espionage to obtain information of happenings at the court.
6. His troops, sent away in June, must be guarding his route, and they must have been so arranged as to beguile the Mughal forces.

In short, it was the ingenuity of Shivaji, and nothing else, that was chiefly responsible for this feat of escape.

Shivaji's escape from Agra, which "completes success and achieved by the most unimaginable means"[277] caused a 'life-long regret to Aurangzeb. He expressed this in his treatment in the following words :"See, how the flight of the wretch Shiva, which was due to carelessness, has involved me in all these distracting campaigns to the end of my days."[278]

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209 ibid.

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225 There is a Dingal folklore "Geeta Bhonsala Raja Shivaji Son.of Shahaji" composed by Upadhya Dharma Vardhan (Samvat 1700-1780), which describes the achievements of Shivaji in a eulogistic style peculiar to the charanas. The date of this composition is doubtful. However it helps to show how the Rajputs preserved the memory of Shivaji.

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268 Visit: No. 26. RA. Samvat 1723.

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274 Visit: No. 42.

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6

SHIVAJI AND THE ENGLISH FACTORS

Rajapur Factory

The East India Company which had secured the Royal Charter in 1600 for 'whole, entire and only trade and traffic to the East Indies for ever' had established itself in the Deccan, particularly on the western coast before the rise of Shivaji. In its initial stages, the Company was interested in Dabhol port (Ratnagiri district) which was then in the possession of the Adil Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur. Dabhol was 'a port of very great antiquity', and, `was a place of much traffic in all sorts ot merchandise.[279] From this port two or three ships of great burden and far richer than those that went for Surat, every year sailed to the Red Sea, and two more very rich ships used to go to the Ormus.[280] The English factors were ceaselessly trying to secure a *farman* from the Adil Shah to establish a factory at Dabhol, which they did in 1636. In 1637 they started trading in Rajapur, then under the Adil Shahi Kingdom and in 1649 opened a factory there[281] to get pepper and cardamom, salt-petre, and betel nuts from Karwar, Mirjan and Girsappa. It seems that the English were loading their ships at Rajapur with 'pepper, sticklack, seedlack, dungarees, percollas and other course sortes of cloth.[282] The French too had settled at Rajapur by 1668 and had met Shivaji, 'who gave them clothes and a *phirmaund* (i.e. a *farman*) to trade freely in all his ports.[283] The English factory was temporarily closed from 1662 to 1673.

Dellon, a French traveller, who visited Rajapur in 1670 gives an account of this town. "The English had here formerly a factory, but the Indians have dislodged them

from thence. The French Company has not many years ago got a settlement there where they have a fine house and garden near a great cistern, from where arises a spring of hot waters, not inferior in virtue to any in Europe. The chief commodities at Rajapur are saltpetre and callicoes, but especially pepper, which grows thereabout in great quantity."[284]

Abbe Carre, another French traveller, who visited Rajapur in 1672 writes, "it is inhabited by Moors, Hindus and some strangers engaged in commerce. It has also some rich merchants whose ships trade in Red Sea, in Persia at Basra and with the whole of India."[285]

It is clear from these accounts that Rajapur was a flourishing port town in the 17th century. Shivaji seized it from the Adil Shahi Kingdom by 1661, and since then it was under the Marathas. The English factors closed their factory in 1662 as a result of their conflict with Shivaji. Shivaji's policy towards the English factors revolves round the Rajapur factory, and it was through his relations with the English, his general commercial policy emerged which has been aptly described by Ramachandrapant Amatya in his treatise *Ajnapatra*.

First Brush with the English

The English became aware of the political ambitions of Shivaji after his encounter with the Adil Shahi general Afzal Khan in 1659. A factory record of 10th December, 1659, written one month after the event, gives a detailed account of the incident and further states that as a consequence of this Shivaji commanded the territory between Upper Chaul and Dabhol on the Western Coast.[286] He was regarded by them as "a potent rebell in Deccan having overrun most of the country."[287] Rustum-i-Zaman, a general of the Bijapur Kingdom was a common friend of the English and Shivaji,and had advised the Rajapur factors to spare some 'grandoes' for Shivaji, who would, in return, help them in

taking their ships to the shore.[288] The English, however, did not pay much attention to it. After the defeat of Afzal Khan, Shivaji's general Doroji demanded from the Rajapur factors the possession of three junks of Afzal Khan, which were carried away by his agent and which were lying in the river with the English. When the English refused to surrender these junks, Doroji arrested the Indian broker of the Company and one Englishman and put them in prison.[289] Even though the avowed policy of the Company was to keep away from politics, the factors, occasionally, interfered with the local affairs. When Shivaji found that the English factors of Rajapur were secretly helping the Siddis who had besieged Panhala at the instance of Adil Shah, he punished them by capturing three English factors and also plundered their factory at Rajapur. A factory record of March 1661 says, "...And afterwards in dispight of all the king of Vijapore could do, he took Rajapore, a great port, plundered it, and seized our English merchants, Mr. Revington, Mr. Taylore, and digged up the English house for treasure, and kept the merchants in prison about eight months...."[290]

When petitions were made to Shivaji for the release of the factors in his custody, he asked them to help him in securing the Danda Rajapur castle from the Siddis. But the Rajapur factors were following dilatory tactics. They even threatened him that they would write to the Surat factory to induce the Mughals to invade Shivaji's territory, if he did not release them immediately.[291] In fact, when the factors appealed to the Surat Council for help, President Andrews hit them back in these words: "How you came in prison you know well. It was not for defending companies goods, it was for going to the seige of Panell and tossing balls with the flagg that was known to be the Englishes... It (i.e. Shivaji's action) was but as any other would do, having power to revenge himself of such affronts; for merchants are not to sell their goods, when if of that nature; as granadoes, to go and shoot them off against an enemy; for

merchants while trading in a strainge country and may live quietly, if not medling must look for a requitall of their deserts. We... must tell you plainly and none but what rehearsed is the cause of your imprisonment."[292] This reprimand not only reveals the stiff attitude of the Surat factory, but at the same time outlines the policy of the Company regarding local politics. The factors were at last set free after two years and they were assured of all protection. The English now realized that no amount of pressure or force would influence Shivaji. It was only through negotiations that they could mend their relations with him. Thus, they started negotiations with Shivaji for compensation for the loss of Rajapur factory from 1662, which lasted for a decade or so.

Negotiations for the Resumption of the Rajapur Factory

Raoji Pandit, the envoy of Shivaji went to Rajapur in 1663 and persuaded Randolph Taylor and others to resume their trade at Rajapur. He showed them "a writing from his master with his own chop and others accustomary to it, as also the print of the Rajah's hand on the top of the paper, done with Sandall."[293] He urged on them that they should forget the past, and assured them that the Rajapur incident would not be repeated again, nor they would "ever suffer by his master to the value of a corne of rice loss."[294]

The factors, however, were impressing on him that their master would never agree to trade again in the Raja's territory unless the past losses were made up. In the course of discussion, they also hinted at the general policy of the Company regarding the recovery of losses: "If our masters loose a piece, they will spend 10 more to recover the same, for as they are hugely careful that none of their servants shall offer any abuse, so when they have wrong offered them, they are the readier to revenge it, by how much they were thus careful no offence should be given

meriting the same."[295]

The English had their main factory at Surat, but Shivaji during his two raids on Surat in 1664 and in 1670, did not disturb them at all. During the second sack of Surat, as Shivaji did not disturb the English house, Mr. Master, the factor at Surat sent a modest present to him which included rupees, sword, blades, knives, etc. The person who carried these presents to Shivaji happened to be a merchant from Rajapur. Shivaji, therefore, asked him the reason why the English left Rajpur? Why were they not returning there to trade as before? The answer from the Company was: "it was Sevagey's fault, not ours."It was pointed out to him that he gave satisfaction to several persons whom he had robbed, yet he did not care to satisfy the English for losses they had sustained. Shivaji expressed his desire that they should return to Rajapur and he would give them necessary satisfaction.' To the English agents who had brought the presents for him, he told them that "the English and he were good friends, and putting his hand into their hands he told them that he would do the English no wrong, and that this giving his hand was better than *any cole* (i.e. agreement) to oblige him there-unto."[296]

Earlier in 1668, when the French sought Shivaji's permission to settle a factory at Rajapur, he enquired about the English and told them that he would give them all what he had robbed of them in the form of concessions in customs dues. But the French envoy said that the English expected ready money and not concessions in custom duties. On this it is reported, "he shook his head and said no more."[297]

Thus Shivaji was earnestly looking forward to patch up his differences with the English and rehabilitate them at Rajapur. However, the English could not forget the punishment which Shivaji had inflicted on them for political reasons. Shivaji always showed interest in the

development of trade and commerce in his dominions, and it was for commercial purposes that he wanted the English and other foreign merchants to settle as merchants in his areas. It must be remembered here that the raids ot Shivaji on Surat did not cause the local merchants to desert that place, but the oppressive religious policy and the inefficiency of the Mughal government which failed to protect its subjects.

The Attitude of the Factors

The English were always suspicious of the motives of Shivaji. The Rajapur incident, and particularly the sack of Surat of 1664 weighed on their minds so much that they ordered the shifting of their factory from Karwar to Hubli immediately after the Surat raid of 1664. The Surat factory wrote to Karwar in June 1664, 'Sevagy is soe famously infamous for his notorious thefts that report hath made him an Airey body, and added wings or else it were impossible hee could bee at soe many places as hee is said to be at, all at one time...Wee concieve Hubely secure, wherefore you were best to get up all the Companys estate thither."[298] Hubli was in the Bijapur Kingdom and Shivaji was often trying forays into its territories. It was, therefore, likely that Hubli too might suffer at the hands of Shivaji and this did happen in 1673.

Island of Bombay

The East India Company had secured the island of Bombay from the Portuguese by 1665. This island was yet a mere fishing place, and merchants of quality had not yet settled there. It was expected that the trade of Bombay would begin only if the His Majesty's government ordered all the Company's ships to load and unload at Bombay and the factory of Surat was removed to Bombay.[299] The Company was aware of the potentialities of this island. It was reported: "Bombay was well spoken of it was healthy

and so well situated for commerce that the whole trade may in a short time be drawne thither and Bombay become the scale of India; the bay and harbour being very commodious and faire that there is no need of pillotts, but ships of any burden may go out and in at mid-night."[300]

The English were convinced that Bombay could prosper only if it was supported by the neighbouring country which was under Shivaji. Having settled in Bombay, they thought that they could move more freely in Shivaji's territory by paying a small custom duty to him. Though they considered him a 'great robber', they still believed that 'giving his oath, he will religiously keep it.'[301] Thus though they did not trust Shivaji, they had decided to enter into peace with him for the promotion of their trade. This was mainly due to the growing power of the Marathas under the dynamic leadership of Shivaji, who had by 1664 challenged two major powers, the Adil Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur by routing the army of Afzal Khan and the Mughals by punishing Shaista Khan and sacking Surat.

Situation in Surat

Another reason why the English aspired for the friendship of Shivaji was the declining trade of Surat. The dispatch of 1669 from Surat says, "...what unsuffereable tyrany the Bannians endured in Surat by the force exercised by these Lordly Morrs on account of their religion the sweetness of which the Cozzy and other officers, finding by the large incomes paid by the Bannians to redeeme the places of Idolatrous worship from being defaced and their persons from mallice, did prosecute their covetous avenges with that frequency and furious zeale that the General body of the Bannians began to graon under their affliction and to take up resolves of flying the country.... Ever since the flight of the Bannians, the trade of Surat hath suffered great obstruction and is the opinion of many wise men that it will prove of fatal consequence to

the utter ruine of it."[302]

Besides this religious persecution, the inefficent administration provided by the Mughal government, whose Governor took shelter with the foreigners letting his subjects to their fate when the city was assaulated in 1664.

Friendship of the English

Shivaji desired the friendship of the English mainly for two reasons. Firstly, he wanted to seize the Danda Rajapuri fort from the Siddis, for which he required the assistance of a naval power like the English. Secondly, he required, guns, ammunition and several other things from the English for conducting his wars. The Bombay factory reports to Surat in 1671. "The chiefest designe of making peace with us, is in hopes of an underhand assistance against Danda Rajapoor, and till something as to that is graunted, he will not pay a penny."[303] The English were withholding their support to Shivaji because they believed that if that place came into his possession, that "would proove a great annoyance to the port of Bombay." Yet they were not flatly denying any help to him as they thought, "our deny all is not consistent at present with our interest, in respect we believe the keeping in suspense will bring him to speedier conclusion of the treaty."[304]

Shivaji was in need of grandoes, mortar pieces and ammunition from the English.[305] He had proposed that if they could not sell guns direct to him, he could purchase them through the Portuguese; if the English agreed to that. This would not bring the name of the English into question.[306] Earlier he had purchased two English guns through the French.[307] The repeated references to guns and ammunition, would suggest how anxious he was to get them, though the English were not complying with his demands.[308] He could get 2000 maunds of lead and 88 iron guns of pounds 33 to 17 weight from the French.[309]

Shivaji needed some skilled artisans who could build

forts, castles, carriages, and contrive mines. In the year 1677 he wrote to the Company, "since my arrival into the Cornat country, I have conquered several forts and castles and do also intend to build new works in several forts and castles. You may likely have with you such men as know how to make great carriages for guns and how to contrive mines. We have need of such at present, especially those that knows how to make mines and blow of stone walls."[310] The English who had supplied such aid to the Siddis denied the same to Shivaji, because they still considered him as an 'evil neighbour.'[311]

However, the rise of Bombay was dependent on friendship with Shivaji. The Company needed timber which could be procured only from Kalyan and Bhivandi which were in the possession of Shivaji since 1669. As most of the provisions as well as timber came to Bombay and wood in special from the territory of Shivaji, the English were prepared to gratify him.[312]

Lt. Ustick's Mission - 1672

The Rajapur issue was pending since 1662, and the English were not prepared to settle it unless Shivaji paid full compensation for their losses. But after a decade or so, they agreed to send their envoy to Shivaji for discussion. Lt. Ustick was commissioned for this and was instructed to conclude a treaty with Shivaji. However, they did not want to make these efforts known to all. The Surat office, in this behalf writes to Bombay. "we wish...would have his going kept as private as possible and give it out that he is to treat about nothing but the recovery of our losses received at Rajapure and the redemption of the hoigh (i.e. hoy, a small vessel used for short distances), that no jealousy may posses this kings ministers to our prejudice."[313]

The English hoped that their differences with Shivaji would be settled in a fair manner. Shivaji personally received the Mission and declared his "great desire to

keep friendship with the English and to invite them again to settle in his country ."[314] The Company demanded 1,00,000 rupees as compensation for former damages at Rajapur. But Shivaji agreed to pay only 20,000 on the ground that he "never made more advantages by what was robbed of the English." But for several reasons this Mission could not accomplish anything.[315]

In the meanwhile, the English were involved in a war with the Dutch. It was suspected that the Dutch might be in league with Shivaji and would make an attempt to take Bombay with his help, if they in return helped him in getting Danda Rajapuri castle from the Siddis. The Bombay Council wrote to the Head Office in 1673, "we had certain intelligence that Rickloff taking advantage of our difference with Sevagee had made an agreement with him to assist them with 3000 men for the taking Bombay, they engaging to assist him with their whole fleete for the retaking Dunda Rajapore from the Sidys."[316]

With a view to divert Shivaji from this design, the English naturally made fresh proposals of peace with Shivaji. In the meanwhile Shivaji's people had looted the English factory in 1673 at Hubli and the Company sustained a loss of 7894.32 sungari pagodas[317] (i.e. Hons : a gold coin worth about Rs. 3½ to 4.)

The mission of Lt. Ustick failed as there was no agreement on the amount of compensation. As Shivaji was anxious to settle this issue he sent three envoys to Bombay to renew the talks.

Embassy of Thomas Niccolls - 1673

The English, in the first instance did not pay much attention to his requests, but the prospects of the Dutch was and the recent plunder ot Hubli prompted them to accept his suggestions for fresh talks. Thomas Niccolls was selected for this task and was asked to visit Shivaji at Raigarh. The main purpose of this mission was "to

establish a hopeful advantageous commerce on the island of Bombay" which was disturbed due to continued wars between the Mughals and Shivaji and the conflict between the English and Shivaji. The situation had prevented the Company from making "inspections by way of trade into the neighbouring parts."[318]

It is interesting to note that the instructions given to Thomas Niccolls on 1st May, 1673 did not refer to either Rajapur or Hubli: the mission was meant simply for a 'deligent search and inspection into the neighbouring parts' for the benefit of the company and all this was to be done secretly. He was instructed that, "you must not own that you are sent by me or my Councill, but that you travel on your own affairs, intending to begin a trade into those part on your owne account." He was to ask casually "whether the English could settle factory at Junner and what customs and duties they would be required to pay. etc."[319]

However, when the news of plundering at Hubli was confirmed, the Bombay Council immediately ordered on 16th May, 1673 that Mr. Thomas Niccolls "be sent to Sevagee to renew the treaty, and if he hath plundered the companys estate at Hubely to demand satisfaction for that and the former losses the Company hath susteyned by his plundering."[320] Niccolls received detailed instructions from the Company on 17th May and proceeded to Raigarh the next day. He met Shivaji on 3rd June, but as nothing tangible resulted out of it he returned to Bombay on 17th June, 1673.[321]

In the course of subsequent discussion. when Niccolls referred to the issue of Hubli. Shivaji said that. He was surprised to hear that. He said that he never gave any orders to his people to disturb English in any way. He also said that he had always a liking for the English people. Of course, these replies did not satisfy the English and they insisted that he should make good their losses. When the matter was pressed too much he answered, "my people

which were thereabouts are there still. and I have not received any letters from them of any such matters; neither can I as yet give any other answer to your demands and that it is necessary for me to know who the persons were under whose command, and a particular of what goods were taken." On this the English asked him whether he would give promise to make satisfaction' if they produced all necessary evidence. Shivaji, according to them, ignored this question and immediately sent for his servant to give them pawn (i.e. betel nuts - a custom among the Marathas for bidding farewell). But the tenacious Niccolls did not leave the room. Shivaji, therefore, asked him whether he had any other business. When he repeated his demands Shivaji said, "I cannot give you any other answer at present."[322]

Thus the second Mission also fizzled out, and no progress was made towards establishing friendship between Shivaji and the English.

Bhimaji Pandit and Narayan Shenvi

Shivaji had, however, not given up his hopes of an amicable settlement. He sent his envoy Bhimaji Pandit with Niccolls, who met the President and declared that Shivaji had given him all power to conclude the treaty.[323] The Company, therefore, appointed Narayan Shenvi, as its envoy, to negotiate with Bhimaji Pandit. Narayan Shenvi was a trustworthy servant of the Company and had accompanied Captain Ustick in his mission to Raigarh. He was thus well aware of the Company's business with Shivaji.[324]

Narayan Shenvi was told that if he could make Shivaji pay about 8000 pagodas in ready money or goods, and five years or at least three years free custom at Rajapur, he should conclude a treaty with him. However, he was specifically told that he should not accept anything less without further order.[325] Of course, he was asked to

demand 12000 pagodas and 7 years free custom first, and if he disagreed with that, he should demand 10000 pagodas and five years free customs and finally he should settle at 8000 pagodas and four years free custom.[326]

These parleys between the two envoys dragged on for a long time. The constant inroads of the Mughals in the Deccan had disturbed the political situation. Shivaji's power and influence were increasing day by day. The Company was more concerned with the protection of Bombay than the recovery of their losses, or pushing their trade up country. They were prepared to lose their trade if necessary but would never give up the island of Bombay, as they believed that "So long as we keep our island we shall certainly be admitted trade; when that is lost we shall be subject to a thousand insolencys."[327]

Narayan Shenvi reached Raigad on 24th March, 1674. Shivaji was busy with the preparation of his coronation which was to be held in June. In spite of this Shivaji discussed the Rajapur business with Narayan Shenvi who returned to Bombay and submitted his report to President Aungier about the 'the business passed concerning Rajapur.' The President was pleased to hear that Shivaji would make an end of it, and that he had given instructions to his envoy Bhimaji Pandit to that effect. Shivaji agreed to pay 10000 pagodas, out of which 7500 pagodas in ready money or goods and 2500 pagodas to be discounted in the customs at Rajapur.[328] Shivaji wrote to the President, "I shall not say more but desire you that there may be no difference in our friendship for I am very well acquainted of your Honours prudence. I send your Honour a present which I desire you to accept of."[329]

Henry Oxinden's Mission

With' a view to giving effect to the negotiations conducted by Narayan Shenvi the Company deputed Henry Oxinden to Shivaji's Court at Raigad. But the

emergence of Siddi wars delayed his visit.[330] As Shivaji's coronation was fast approaching it was also decided to present an Arab horse 'of considerable value' to Shivaji, as a token of English friendship.[331] A detailed list of presents to be given to Shivaji, his son Sambhaji and his ministers was also prepared. Earlier the amount was fixed at Rs 3285, but later on it was reduced to Rs. 2690.[332]

A draft of the articles of peace, union and friendship between the Noble Prince Shivaji Raja and the Hon'ble East India Company was prepared by 1674 and all necessary instructions were given to Henry Oxinden to get formal sanction of Shivaji to the contract signed by him before, in which he had promised to pay 10000 pagodas for 'satisfaction' of the Company's losses[333] Oxinden reached Raigad on 2lst May, well in advance for the Coronation ceremony which was scheduled for 6th June. Besides this indemnity for their losses the Company wanted two concessions from the Raja :

(1) the Company's money should go current in his dominion and in Bombay and

(2) he should restore whatever wrecks may happen on his coast belonging to the English and inhabitants of Bombay.[334]

Circulation of the Company's Coins

Shivaji accepted the demands of the Company regarding indemnity but emphatically denied these two specific demands. As regards the first he said it was unnecessary to be included it in the Articles of peace as he did not forbid any coin from circulation in his dominion. Again, he said, he would not force his subjects to take those coins whereby they would be losers. He argued that if the Company's coin was fine an alloy and as weighty as the Mughals and other princes, he would not prohibit its passing current in his dominion.[335]

The Company was however not worried about the

circulation of their coin. For, it was their experience that Shivaji never objected the circulation of the English coin in his dominions. When the Company sent its money to change to the shroffs they could get abundance of Bombay piece though no bugrookes (budrooks was an obsolete Goa coin of low denomination. It was coined at different times in copper, tin, lead. etc.)[336] Bombay piece was current in Shivaji's land in 1674.[337]

Restoration of the Wrecks

As regards the restoration of wrecks. Shivaji said that it was against the laws of Konkan to restore any ships, vessels or goods that were driven on the shore by tempest or otherwise and that if he granted that privilege to the English, the merchants in this country like the French the Dutch etc. would demand and claim the same right from him, which he could not grant without breaking a custom that had lasted for many ages.[338] However, Niraji Pandit, the chief justice of Shivaji informed Henry Oxinden that he could persuade the Raja to grant them the wrecks on the ground that they enjoyed similar privileges from the Mughal and the Deccan Kings. He also hinted to him that he should not press for the article regarding money as the Raja had firm views about the circulation of foreign money in his country.[339]

Henry Oxinden was soliciting Niraji Pandit to get the articles signed by the Raja. Niraji Pandit, at last sent a word to the English envoy that the Raja had granted all the demands except that regarding the circulation of money and that he should collect the document from him the next day after it was signed by the rest of the ministers of State. On 12th June, Oxinden received the treaty duly signed and left Raigad and reached Bombay on 16th June, 1674.[340]

Thus the long-drawn Rajapur indemnity problem was settled and conditions for cordial relations between the two were created. The merchants of Rajapur, Dabhol and all

other seaport towns received this news of peace with the Raja with great joy and expressed their desire that the Company should settle its factory at Rajapur very speedily.[341] Shivaji issued orders to the Subedar of Rajapur that the first quarter part of 1000 pagodas be paid to the Company and a convenient house be given to them.[342] Accordingly the English settled their factory at Rajapur but they were not happy about the entire affair. They could not get full satisfaction for their losses, and the mode of payment fixed by Shivaji was not favourable to them. They were to receive the indemnity partly in goods like coconuts and betel nuts and partly in the form of deductions out of the customs at Rajapur.[343] The Company did not get its full share of indemnity and the condition became worse under Sambhaji. The Company thus closed the Rajapur factory in 1682.

Company and the Internal Trade

Shivaji endeavoured to keep Company away from the internal trade to avoid any competition with the local merchants. He did not allow them to carry their goods up country. The Company never expected such restrictions on them as they were harmful to their trade in the Deccan. He was, however, willing to give great encouragement to the Company's trade as it could reasonably desire.[344]

Shivaji needed Company's shipping facilities for transporting salt into his country. But the Company was hesitating in employing Company's shipping in salt freights into Shivaji's country as it prejudiced shipping and caused them much damage, particularly when they had to carry fine goods afterwards. But finally, they agreed to spare their ships - Mayboone, Revenge and Hunter. These ships carried salt to Dabhol.[345]

Company's Policy

The English hardly trusted Shivaji. The avowed policy

of the Company was of 'non-alignment, and it instructed its factors that "they forbeare assisting either (Shivaji or the King of Vijapur), but carry an equal hand towards both, behaving themselves like merchants whose sole design is to seek a trade in the country, being courteous and civil to both, bust especially to that side in whose possession the country remains."[346] The Company was enjoying more privileges both from the Mughals and the Adil Shahi Kingdom, and perhaps it never thought that the Maratha Raja ,would ever become powerful in the Deccan. Shivaji was still a 'grand rebel' to them and therefore, they were naturally siding with those powers "in whose possession the country would remain." They disliked Shivaji's growing power, and with a view to checking it they were denying guns and ammunition to him, as well as assistance against the Siddis. At the same time, they could not altogether discard him, as the trade of Bombay island was connected with his dominion, and they were not prepared to lose Bombay. Thus they were in a fix and they had to be friendly with him reluctantly.

The English looked at the activities of Shivaji with a mixed feeling of awe and respect. They respected him because he "reigned victoriously and uncontrolled,"[347] and they were afraid of him because he was getting stronger and stronger every day." They accepted Shivaji as "one of the most political princes of these eastern parts."[348]

Shivaji's Policy

Shivaji also looked at the activities of the English with the same feeling, he too could not altogether dispense with them. He has to be very tactful and diplomatic and this has been amply demonstrated in his talks with the English regarding Rajapur indemnity. He too suspected the motives of the English and always acted with caution. He had underlined the importance of the English as merchants in his dominions, but at the same time. he did not want

them to be prosperous and dominant in his areas. He wanted to keep them under check and control. Perhaps this explains his policy of granting some concessions and at the same time denying certain privileges to them. He was witholding the full payment of the indemnity perhaps with a view of keeping them always subservient to him.

His policy towards foreign merchants in general has been epitomised by Ramchandrapant Amatya in his famous treatise on Maratha Policy 'Ajnapatra' which was composed at the instance of Sambhaji Raja of Kolhapur by 1716. It says "Merchants are the ornaments of the kingdom and the glory of the king. They are the cause of prosperity of kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not available come into the kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich. There is a great advantage in the protection of merchants. Amongst the merchants the Portuguese (Firangi) and the English (Ingraj) and the Dutch (Valandej) and the French (Farasis) and the Danes (Dingmar) and the other hat-wearers (*topikar*) merchants also do carry on trade and commerce. But they are not like other merchants. Their masters every one of them, are ruling kings. By their orders and under their control these people come to trade in these provinces. How can it happen that rulers have no greed for territories ? These hat-wearers have full ambition to enter into these provinces to increase their territories, and to establish their own opinions (regligion).... Moreover, this race of people is obstinate. Where a place has fallen into their hands they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives. Their inter-course should, therefore be restricted to the extent of only their coming and going (for trade). They should strictly never be given places to settle. They should not at all be allowed to visit sea-forts. If some place has sometimes to be even for a factory, it should not be given at the mouth of an inlet or on the shores of the sea. If land is given in such places. it may be that they remain obedient as long as they like; they would however establish new forts at those ports at some

time and with the help of their navy protect them. Their strength lies in navy, guns and ammunition. As a consequence so much territory would be lost to the kingdom. Therefore if any place is at all to be given to them it should be given in the midst of two or four famous great towns distant about eight to sixteen miles from the mouth of the sea, just as the French were given lands at Rajapur. Thus by fixing their place of habitation factories should be permitted to be built. They should not be allowed to build (strong) permanent houses. If they live in this way by accepting the above conditions it is well, if not there is no need of them. It is enough, if they occasionally come and go and do not trouble us: nor need we trouble them."[349]

This policy statements from Ajnapatra when compared with Shivaji's policy towards the English merchants, would lead us to believe that Amatya's theory of Maratha polity had its roots in the facts of history and that Amatya was putting into words what was practised by Shivaji.

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7

SHIVAJI AND THE PORTUGUESE

Portuguese have been referred to as 'Phirangis' and their Indian possession as 'Phirangan' in Marathi records. During the period of Shivaji [1630-1680] the Portugues was a decadent power, being content with defending their own limited pockets in India. Thier activities, therefore, did not influence much the course of Maratha history in the 17th century.

Shivaji 's Biography

Shivaji's first biography in Marathi was written between 1694 and 1697 by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, a contemporary of Shivaji and a person well-acquainted with the career of Shivaji. The Portuguese, it seems were also interested in knowing the details of Shivaji's career. They were keenly watching the rapid growth of Maratha power under the leadership of Shivaji. With a view to satisfying the curiosity of European readers, Cosme da Guard a wrote the first biography of Shivaji in Portuguese called *Vida e Accoens do famoso Felicissenma Sevagy* or Life of the Celebrated Shivaji" in 1695. It was posthumously published in 1739. Guarda's is the first systematic biography of Shivaji written by any foreigner with a view to acquainting the European readers with the life story of Shivaji.[350]

Guarda claims that he was born in Marmaugau, but his contention has been doubted by some historians."[351]

Guarda was a Portuguese and it seems that he was well acquainted with Shivaji's life.

When the biography of Shivaji was published in 1730,

Maratha power was in its ascendenty and the Portuguese were anxious to know about the rise and growth of Maratha power in the Deccan. Perhaps, this curiosity of the Portuguese, must have caused the publication of the biographys which became, in the course of time, very popular among the Portuguese officers. The manuscript was censored before its publication and the expert to whom it was referred opined that though it was not possible to verify the truth of all the statements, on the whole the narrative appeared to be correct and accurate. Of course this was the opinion given by a Portuguese officer, who was certainly not qualified to sit on judgement of the correctness and accuracy of the account of the career of Shivaji.

Gurada must have written this biography while he was in the Deccan. He must have collected the information about Shivaji from various people. His information, however, is incomplete and unreliable at many places. But from the point of view of historiography this work has its own value. He was, it appears, an admirer of Shivaji, and has attempted to present the image of Shivaji as it prevailed during his period. He was a staunch Roman Catholic, and his testimony of Shivaji, a pagan, is of greater significance. It appears from Guarda's account that the Portuguese held very high opinion about Shivaji's love of justice, his keen interest in the welfare of his subject, his genealship and statesmanship.

Guarda's biography is not a history of Shivaji, in the strict sense of the term. It is essentially a chronicle like that of Sabhasad's *bakhar* of Shivaji, and hence the events are neither chronologically arranged nor do they cover the entire life story of Shivaji. It seems that Guarda was aware of the deficiency in his writing. One does not know whether he knew Marathi but it appears from the several Persian phrases used by him in this biography that he was acquainted with that language.

In the twenty chapters of the biography Guarda discusses Shivaji's birth and early career, his major encounter with Adilshah Kingdom of Bijapur under the commandership of Afzal Khan, his inroads in the Konkan, his night attack on Shaista Khan, the Mughal commander, his sacks of Surat, his surrender to the mighty Mughal army under Mirza Raja Jaising, his visit to Aurangzeb at Agra, and his miraculous escape from the den of Aurangzeb, his encounter with the Portuguese at Marmugao, and lastly his death.

It is really surprising that he did not write much about the relations between Shivaji and the Portuguese except at one place where he describes Shivaji's invasion of Marmugao. In this respect it must be remembered that Guarda was the only historian who wrote about the naval battle between Shivaji and the Portuguese at Marmagao. This account has been corroborated by some unpublished records preserved in the Lisbon archives. This attempt of Shivaji proved to be abortive and he expressed his regrets for this to the Viceroy of Goa. He pleaded, according to Guarda, that it was not his intention to offend the Portuguese for whom he had always entertained great respect. In this respect Guarda writes, "It cannot be described how the Viceroy rose in the estimation of Sevagy on account of the treatment he had accorded him and Sevagy liked him so much that he always praised his valour, judgement and courtsey. The Viceroy had great credit with Sevagy and enjoyed his respect as long as he was in India and even after he had ceased to govern." This reference is to Antonio de Mello de Castro, who was appointed Governor of India in 1662, and was soon raised to the position of Viceroy. Except this incident, no other reference showing the relationship between Shivaji and the Portuguese is mentioned by Guarda.

Shivaji coronated himself in 1674, thereby dec*lari*ng his sovereign authority in his dominion. But this important event in Shivaji's life does not find any place in Guarda's

biography. In fact, Portuguese records do not take cognizance of this major event. Professor Pissurlekar says that the correspondence from 1669 to 1677 is not available in the Portuguese archives and, therefore, we do not find any reference to Shivaji's coronation. One young scholar from Goa, in his unpublished paper has tried to explain, this silence on the part of the Portuguese regarding the coronation of Shivaji. He says, "The silence can be explained only as an intended black out. This is not difficult to believe. The religious fanaticism of the Portuguese had always considered the Hindu religious rites as devilish and any public celebration was banned within the limits of the Portuguese jurisdiction. Hence the coronation ceremony performed by Hindu priests and attended by them in large numbers was surely regarded by the Portuguese as a grand pagan act, which they could neither approve nor talk about without feeling guilty of blasphemy or fearing the stern hand of the Inquisition."[352] Another possible explanation for want of any reference to Shivaji's coronation was the utmost secrecy kept by Shivaji of the event.

After his coronation, Shivaji led an expedition into the Karnatak, which also does not find a place in Guarda's biography. He also does not discuss in detail the relations of Shivaji with other European powers.

However, the political inaccuracies in his biography are compensated by his minute observations of the intelligence system of the Marathas, a comparison between the Maratha and the Muslim armies, description of Raigad, the fort capital of Shivaji, the camp-life of the Mughals, etc.

Guarda had tried to present a contemporary picture of Shivaji. What people talked about him has been faithfully recorded. He has well depicted the character of Shivaji in his biography. 'Sevagy's name', he writes, 'however had already become so terrible that it was very seldom that

anybody dared to defy him.'[353] At another place he says, "such was the good treatment he accorded to people and such was the honesty with which he observed the capitulations that name looked upon him without a feeling of love and confidence. By his people, he was exceedingly loved, both in matters of reward and punishment he was so impartial that while he lived he made no exception for any person; no merit was left unrewarded; no offence went without unpunished. He was naturally loved by all men of valour and good conduct...With such a procedure of justice, without consulting any jurist, he made his subject ever happy and his fame rose to such a height that throughout Industan it became as dreaded as it was cherished."[354]

Unwittingly he also gives a clue to solve the controversial subject of the birth date of Shivaji. According to him, Shivaji was 29 years old in the year 1660. This date comes nearer to the birth date advocated by the new school of historians who have based their conclusion on the evidence of *Shivabharat* and *Jedhe Shakavali*.[355]

Shivaji's love for his soldiers has been expressed by saying "he prized the lives of his soldiers above all the interests of the world."[356] Shivaji gave protection to all needy persons and tried to maintain justice in his dominion. Guarda writes, "He gave frequent audiences even to the most wretched of *(mais tristes)* his subjects and to all he administered equal and impartial justice. He ardently wished that there should be peace and order among his people and he did his best to ensure that they might all live in abundance. He did not enact many laws, but his orders were strictly obeyed...He never permitted any feud or strife and least of all robbery, and for any (of these offences) (the culprit) paid with his life. If in any of his stations or provinces any native wanted to molest a traveller and if the latter involved (the name) of Sevagy all (his troubles) came to an end and such was the respect

(he enjoyed) and such was the fear his subject had (for him)."[357]

The picture of Shivaji that emerges form the writing of Guarda compares well with the description of the character of Shivaji that we find in contemporary Marathi chronicles or other records.

Early Relations

Though Guarda did not touch much the subject of relationship between the Marathas and the Portuguese, we have ample evidence to describe it with the help of contemporary original records. The Portuguese power in India in the 17th century was confined to the old conquest consisting of Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete. Besides, the coast-line from Chaul to Daman was under their control. In the 17th Century, they were mainly interested in retaining their limited possessions and control over the Indian seas. As they were not interested in extending their dominion they did not involve themselves in the local politics. Shivaji, after the acquisition of Javali in 1655, was deeply interested in creating a strong base for himsef in the Konkan. But he did not want to fight a war on all fronts at one and the same time. He had first to settle his issues with the Adil Shahi and the Mughals. The Portuguese held areas in the Konkan, but he did not want to disturb them, as their's was essentially a naval power, and Shivaji was not strong on sea-front. The Portuguese also, in the initial stages, looked at the rise of Maratha power favourably. They had a genuine appreciation of Shivaji's early activities in the Deccan. As such, both of them aimed at cordial and friendly relationship between themselves throughout this period, though there were occasions of minor interruption of this friendship.

A Portuguese newsletter from Bijapur of the year 1634 refers to Shahaji, Shivaji's father who was then serving the Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar. This letter says that Shahaji

was the commander of 3000 troops and his annual income was 20 lakhs and 75 thousand hons. In 1636, when the Nizamshahi was struggling for survival with the combined forces of the Mughals and the Bijapurians, Shahaji requested the captain of Chaul fort, a Portuguese possession, to give asylum to his wife and children. He also suggested that if necessary he would also join his family at Chaul. Shahaji was prepared to surrender some portions of the Nizamshahi to the Portuguese. But being afraid of the wrath of the Mughals and Bijapurians, the Portugues politely declined this offer. The Portuguese, however, promised Shahaji secret help and maintained friendly relations with him. This friendship with Shahaji continued till his death.[358]

The earliest reference to Shivaji in the Portuguese records is found in the year 1657. Shivaji had captured Javali in 1656, and then embarked on a career of conquest of the Konkan. A letter of 25th November, 1657 refers to Shivaji as the son of Shahaji and who had captured the Upper Chaul.[359]

After defeating the formidable Bijapur leader Afzal Khan in 1659, Shivaji concentrated his attention on capturing the Konkan. This ambition of Shivaji brought him into conflict with the Portuguese, who did not want a powerful neighbour in Konkan. Shivaji had by 1659 realized the importance of naval power for securing control over the west-coast and the Konkan. His naval policy has been well depicted in *Ajnapatra,* a nearly contemporary treatise on Maratha polity. It considers navy as an independent limb of the State and those who possess it would command the sea.[360]

Shivaji started building his navy in right earnest from 1659. He captured areas near Bassein and Chaul and started building warships at Bhivandi, Kalyan and Panvel. Bassein was the center of the Portuguese ship-building activity and hence they did not want Shivaji's ships to ply

on the seas. There were some Portuguese employed under Shivaji. Rui Leitao Viegas and his son Fernao Viegas were employed for building ships. Twenty ships were built under their supervision. There were nearly 140 Portuguese engaged in this task and they were under Viegas.

Besides artisans, according to one account, there were 300 Portuguese soldiers in Shivaji' s army. Mirza Raja Jaisingh had also complained to the Portuguese that there were some Portuguese soldiers in Shivaji's army when he invaded Shivaji's territory in 1664. The Portuguese, however, denied that they gave any assistance to Shivaji. Those who were found in the Maratha army were the deserters and fortune-seekers. The Viceroy also pointed out that the Portuguese people were in the service of the Muslims and Mughals. By a Proclamation issued on 19th May 1668, the Viceroy requested such Portuguese people who were serving the Marathas, the Mughals and the muslims to return. Those who were in the service of Shivaji left their jobs and secretly escaped to Bombay and Bassein.

By 1667 Shivaji's naval force had become formidable considerably. The Portuguese were terribly afraid of this growing strength of Shivaji's navy and the construction of some marine forts by him in the Konkan.[361] Shivaji's navy consisted mainly of *'galvetas' (galbats)* which were small but swift. It was difficult for the big ships of the Portuguese to chase them. Shivaji's *galbats*, however, did not disturb much the European war-ships.

One of the causes of friction in the early period between the Portuguese and the Marathas was the control over Indian ocean. The Portuguese claimed that they were masters of Indian ocean and thus subjected the Indian powers to obtain *cartazes* from them by paying necessary fees for operating their ships on the Indian ocean. Earlier Shivaji used to purchase such *cartazes*, but it seems, later

on he evaded the payment. Though there are hardly any references to a naval war between Shivaji and the Portuguese, there are number of instances of capture of ships of each other. But these captured ships were generally released after negotiations. However, Shivaji's incursions in the south particularly in Karwar, Mirzan, Ankola, etc. were seriously taken by the Portuguese as a threat to their power in India.[362]

Shivaji, Siddi and the Portuguese

Shivaji's major enemy on the west coast was the Siddis of Danda Rajpuri, and Shivaji was building his navy mainly to crush the Siddi. But the Portuguese were secretly helping the Siddis who had accepted their vassalage in 1667, with a view to preventing Shivaji from becoming a formidable naval power on the west coast. Shivaji was more worried about the Siddis than the Portuguese. Sabhasad, the comtemporary Marathi chronicler, describes Siddi as an 'enemy like the mice in a house'." Shivaji attacked the Siddis in 1659 and the Portuguese secretly supplied them provisions from Chaul and Bassein.[363] The Portuguese had become suspicious about the growth of Shivaji's naval power. They did all to obstruct the progress, without giving any cause for provocation or rupture of relations. The Viceroy wrote to the captain of Bassein, 'it is necessary to be friendly with Shivaji, who is become powerful and master of Galian-Bhiwandi and the rest of the Konkan and he could do us harm.[364] They were worried about his growing might on the sea. He had built marine forts and a large number of vessels, though not of big size. In 1669 Shivaji besieged Danda Rajpuri of the Siddis again. As the Siddis had by now accepted the vassalage of the Portuguese, they supplied provisions and ammunition to them secretly. The Portuguese captain of Chaul was authorised to take possession of Danda Rajapuri if Siddi was willing to surrender it to them. In.1670 Shivaji concluded peace with the Portuguese and one of the

articles of peace was that as the Siddi was the vassal of Portuguese, the latter should work to bring about the settlement between Shivaji and the Siddi which would satisfy both the parties. But this treaty was not observed by the Portuguese. Shivaji attacked Danda Rajapuri again in 1671, both from land and sea and the Portuguese decided to help the Siddi, as they thought that the fall of Danda Rajapuri would be harmful to their possession in Chaul.[365] Neither the Portuguese nor the English supported the cause of Shivaji against the Siddis.[366]

Shivaji was determined to capture the stronghold of the Siddi. In 1675-76 he made a grand assault on Janjira, but this attempt also proved to be abortive. The naval wars between Shivaji and the Siddi continued from 1676 to 1680, i.e. till the death of Shivaji but he could not succeed in crushing the Siddi and thereby realize his life's ambition.

To check the power of the Siddis, Shivaji started building marine forts at Khanderi and Underi islands near Bombay. The Siddi was trying to thwart these efforts of Shivaji and the Portuguese were willing to help him in his efforts. But the policy of Shivaji of construction of marine forts was more dangerous to the English and as they had taken this whole issue quite seriously. The Portuguese remained neutral in this affair. The British persuaded them to join in these naval wars against Shivaji, but they refused this offer under the pretext of agreement of friendship with Shivaji. However, they promised that they would secretly supply provision to the English.[367] But the death of Shivaji in 1680 deferred this problem temporarily.

Shivaji, Desais and the Portuguese

Another cause of friction was the behaviour of the Desais of Konkan who were supported by the Portuguese. The attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji differed from enemy to enemy. In the conflict between Shivaji and the Adil Shahi, the Portuguese generally supported the

cause of Adil Shah or remained neutral at times. But they never supported Shivaji. They helped Shivaji against the Mughals as they did not want the Mughals to spread their authority in the Deccan. They were afraid of the expansion of the Mughal power in the Deccan, as it would, they thought, upset the balance of power. Besides, they were in favour of maintaining the unity of the Deccan against the Mughals.[368] They rejoiced at Shivaji's exploits at Surat, and also offered him shelter if necessary. When Mirza Raja Jaisingh invaded Maratha country, they refused any assistance to the Mughals but showed their willingness to help Shivaji secretly. During this encounter, Shivaji thought that he might require a safer place and he requested the Portuguese to give him asylum in Chaul, if needed. The Portuguese suggested to him that he should come to Goa, which was more safe than Chaul. When Shivaji concluded a treaty with the Mughals in 1665, being afraid of the wrath of the Mughals, the Portuguese also made peace with the Mughals.

So long as Shivaji was fighting against the Mughals and the Adil Shahi, the Portuguese were quite safe in their territories. Shivaji had captured Kudal in 1663 which formerly belonged to Adil Shahi. He claimed that the Adil Shahi had given him the possession of the entire south Konkan, and claimed Bardez and Salcete, as these areas formerly belonged to the Adil Shahi.

When Shivaji was involved in the capture of Kudal, the Desais helped the Adil Shahi against him. Lakham Sawant Desai of Kudal, Keshav Naik and Keshav Prabhu of Pedne, Khalu Shenvi of Decholi, and Chandarana of Sakhali were the Desais, working all the while against Shivaji. In 1664, Khawas Khan, a Bijapuri noble, was completely routed by Shivaji's forces, and thus the Desais who were helping Khawas Khan also received a terrible blow from Shivaji and they fled into the Portuguese areas.

In 1664 Shivaji laid the foundations of the Sindhu

durga, a marine fort, at Malwan, and according to Marathi records Portuguese artisans were specially employed for this purpose. But the Portuguese records are silent on this point.[369]

Shivaji was very anxious to capture Phonda from the Adil Shahi, and so he invaded it in 1666. It created a dangerous situation for the Portuguese, and they secretly helped the Adil Shahi in this encounter. They helped the Desais, who wanted to help Adil Shahi, in crossing the Chopada river. In this encounter, the Bijapuris, succeeded because of the Portuguese help. As Shivaji had to go to Agra to pay a visit to Aurangzeb, he raised the siege of Phonda and thus Kudal, Pedne, Phonda, Dicholi, Sattari once again came under the control of the Adil Shahi.

When Shivaji escaped from the den of Aurangzeb, the Portuguese Viceroy wrote to the King of Lisbon in 1667 that "Even though he (Shivaji) and his captains maintain a good and friendly correspondence with the Portuguese, his cunning valour, ceaseless activity and military tactics make him comparable to Caesar and Alexander. Finally my Lord, this man is every where and has no fix dwelling place."[370]

After his return from Agra, Shivaji recaptured all the territories which the Adilshahi had taken from him, except Phonda. The Desais used to trespass in Shivaji's territories and disturb the people as well as the administration. Shivaji's invasion of Bardez in 1667 was mainly the result of the behaviour of the Desais who had sought refuge in the Portuguese territories.

Invasion of Bardes and after

According to one report of 15th September, 1667, Naroba Sawant, the nephew of Lakham Sawant entered into Vengurla and disturbed the Dutch who enjoyed the patronage of Shivaji. The Dutch must have complained to Shivaji about this harrassment by the Desai. The Desais, who were enjoying the patronage of the Portuguese were

a constant source of trouble to Shivaji. With a view to teaching them a lesson Shivaji seems to have planned a punitive war against the Portuguese. He descended on Bardes with five thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry on 20th November, 1667 and for three days he plundered the village and carried about 1600 men, women and children, as captives. During this incursion three priests and a few Christians were killed. The Portuguese government had received the news of Shivaji's planned invasion, a few days earlier. They had taken all precautionary measures. The Viceroy went to Bardez with 84 men, but by that time Shivaji had retreated.[371] Shivaji had no intention of occupying the Portuguese territory. However, the Viceroy boasted that he could expel Shivaji from the Portuguese territory with a small troop of 84 men only.

Negotiations for peace started on 22nd November 1667. The Portuguese believed that it depended on Shivaji to maintain peace. Ranoji Shenvi Kothari was sent as an envoy to Shivaji who was stationed at Dicholi. Shivaji's envoy Sakhopant came to Goa on 5th December 1667 and a treaty was signed by them which was later on ratified at Raigad on 12th December, 1667.

According to this treaty it was decided that there should be mutual restoration of captives, the expulsion of Desais from Goa, maintenance of commercial relations subject to traditional payments of taxes, sale of arms to Shivaji if this terms were acceptable to the Portuguese. It was also suggested in the treaty that as far as possible all issues between them should be settled by negotiations before resorting to arms.[372] Shivaji permitted the Portuguese to open a factory at Dabhol, which they did in 1688.

The primary cause of the attack on Bardes was the anti-Shivaji policy adopted by the Desais who were protected by the Portuguese. The Dutch records emphatically state that it was with a view to punishing the

Desais that Shivaji invaded Bardes. It would be inconsistent with the facts of history to say that Shivaji invaded Bardes to avenge the policy of religious persecution of the Hindus by the Portuguese. There is no reference to this either in the Treaty or in the records. There was no premediated plan to kill the three Priests. The Priests and a few Christians must have been killed in the course of action.[373] Shivaji had adopted a policy of religious toleration and he would not interfere with any state on religious grounds.

However, the terms of the treaty of 1667, were not faithfully observed by both the parties. The Desais and the Siddis continued to disturb the territories of Shivaji. The Portuguese had approved of a plan of selling some artillery pieces to the Desais, Lakham Sawant and Keshav Naik, and sending them out of the Portuguese territories on to the main land. They also continued to supply guns and good provisions to the Siddi.[374]

In 1668, therefore, Shivaji made a serious attempt to get hold of Goa itself. In December 1668, he infiltrated about 400 to 500 men into Goa. This number was to be doubled in due course and Goa was to be taken by a surprise attack at night. But Portuguese learned about this plot of Shivaji quite in advance. Shivaji had, therefore, to abandon his idea of capturing Goa.[375]

Shivaji besieged Phonda once again in 1675. He took assurance from the Portuguese that they would remain neutral. But they secretly supplied provisions to the captains of the Adil Shahi. The Marathas foiled the plan of the Portuguese and captured their ten vessels. Phonda was captured by Shivaji on 16th May, 1675, and this brought under his control Antruz, Ashtagar, Hemadbarse, Bali, Chandrawati, and Kakode.[376] Thus the Marathas came in the vicinity of the Portuguese territory.

Shivaji's salt policy and the Portuguese

Konkan was the mainstay or backbone of Shivaji's kingdom. From the strategic as well as economic point of view, it was the most precious part of his kingdom. Salt-manufacturing was the chief industry of the Konkan. There were several salt-pans in Thana, Kolaba, and Ratnagiri districts of Konkan. Pen, Panvel, Negothana, Revadanda, Thana were the chief salt-manufacturing centres of the Maratha kingdom. Shivaji had maintained an independent salt-fleet for the transport of salt from Konkan, which was mainly sold in the Desh areas.

But this salt industry of the Konkan was in danger due to the competition from the Portuguese, who were exporting salt to the Desh areas. Bardes was producing the best quality of salt, and the salt produced there was cheaper compared to the salt from Shivaji's areas. Naturally merchants from the Desh areas preferred to purchase salt from Bardes instead of from Shivaji's Konkan. This policy of the merchants adversely affected the salt industry of Konkan, and many salt-pans were laid waste. It was not possible for the Marathas to compete with the Portuguese salt.

With a view to giving impetus to the salt industry of Konkan Shivaji adopted the protectionist policy in the year 1671. He informed his Subhedar of Kudal that he should impose a high tariff on the salt imported from the Portuguese area, so that the price of salt of Bardes would be equal to the price of salt prevailing in his areas. Shivaji presumed that if this policy was strictly implemented, the merchants from the Desh areas would not take the trouble of going to Bardes, since the cost of transport and the proposed high tariff on imports would make the Bardes salt more costly than the Konkan salt. Besides, if some merchants still insisted on purchasing salt from Bardes, the high tariff imposed on it, would have added to the revenue of the state.[377] It was well conceived by Shivaji that this

high tariff on Bardes salt would ultimately promote domestic industry of salt. This economic measure of Shivaji must have been resented by the Portuguese.[378]

Problem of chauth

Another cause of friction between Shivaji and the Portuguese was the problem of Chauth, a fee paid to purchase protection. It is interesting to know the origin of this Chauth system. Shivaji did not originate it, it was in existence in the Portuguese territories long before his birth. The Chauth was paid to the Raja of Ramnagar, also called Chauthia Raja, from Daman even before Daman came under the influence of the Portuguese in 1559. Ramnagar was about 8 to 10 miles away from Daman and was situated in a hilly region. The people of Daman paid 1/8 share of the total revenue of Daman to the Chauthia Raja of Ramnagar. The captain of Daman, Fernao de Miranda had entered into an agreement in 1670 with the Koli Raja of Jawahar who revolted against the Raja of Ramnagar and demanded the Chauth from the Portuguese. As the Raja of Ramnagar had failed to check the Koli Raja who was disturbing the Portuguese territories, the Portuguese at last agreed to pay Chauth to the Koli Raja. However, in the meanwhile the Raja of Ramnagar, with the help of the Portuguese destroyed many villages of the Koli Raja. But he was not completely subdued. The Portuguese, therefore, persuaded Shivaji to come to their rescue and crush the Koli Raja.

Moropant Pingle, the prime minister of Shivaji led an expedition against the Koli Raja in June 1672 and expelled him from that territory. He then attacked Ramnagar and captured some of its areas. On the basis of his conquest of Ramnagar Shivaji claimed the Chauth from the Portuguese which they were formerly paying to the Chathia Raja. But the Portuguese denied this payment on the ground that Shivaji had not captured the entire kingdom of the Chauthia Raja. Thus from 1671, they withheld payment of

Chauth to Chauthia Raja as well as to Shivaji.

Shivaji kept quiet for some time. In 1677 he attacked Ramnagar and annexed the entire kingdom of Ramnagar to his state, and renewed his demand for Chauth from the Portuguese. The municipal authorities of Daman accepted this demand of Shivaji as just and recommended to the Viceroy that the necessary payment should be made. In 1673 the Viceroy agreed to pay the Chauth to Shivaji from that date when he conquered the entire kingdom of Ramnagar. The Portuguese were thus delaying the payment by entering into unnecessary correspondence on this issue. Shivaji's envoy, Pitambar Shenvi, Jiwaji Shenvi and Ganesh Shet negotiated in vain with the Viceroy regarding the payment of Chauth dues. However, the Portuguese never paid them to Shivaji, and delayed the payment under one pretext or another.

Shivaji was to receive about 9077 ashrafis from the Portuguese as Chauth. They not only not paid it, but instigated, the defeated Raja of Ramnagar to continue his fight against Shivaji. For involving Shivaji in a fight the Raja received secretly about 13 thousand ashrafis. Shivaji only received a tax called *'gavkhandi'* which the Portuguese had collected from the *parganas* of Bassein, Tarapur and Saribari in the year 1677. This *'gavkhandi'* was altogether different from Chauth.[379]

As Shivaji was busy with settling the affairs of his state, he did not find necessary leisure to collect the Chauth from the Portuguese by resorting to arms. The Portuguese had assured Shivaji's envoy that 'there should not be any doubt that what we paid to the said Chauthia shall be paid to your Highness'.[380] But in 1678, Viceroy Almeida, who had already heard much about the great qualities of Shivaij while he was in Portugal, wrote to Shivaji that he would enquire from the province of North all the particulars regarding the Chauth. But these particulars were not received till July 1678, and so they could not settle the

issue. However, they desired to preserve peace and amity with Shivaji.

The Portuguese claimed that the said Chauth had its origin in the covenant. “the villages of the district of Daman made of their own initiative with the king of Chauthia, without informing the past Viceroys or governors to avoid the loss and robbery that his subjects used to commit in those villages.”[381] which the inhabitants of the said villages were subjected to the payment of the said Chuath. They appointed judges to enquire into this matter.[382]

When did Shivaji first claim this Chauth? During his first Sack of Surat in 1664, he passed through the territories of the Koli Raja of Ramnagar and Jawhar, and possibly, as Dr. Sen puts it, Shivaji must have learnt about the Koli Raja’s practice of levying Chauth from their Portuguese neighbour. Chauth literally means 1/4 but in practice it varied from 10 to 25 percent in the different villages. Shivaji must have started demanding it from the Portuguese since 1672, when he captured some parts of Koli Raja. He demanded it also from the people of Surat.[383]

Shivaji aimed at expelling the Portuguese from the Konkan but he could not find time to do so. The other needs of the Maratha kingdom, particularly the restraining of the Mughal and the Adil Shahi powers were more pressing than the need of expulsion of the Portuguese.

However, in 1678 Shivaji had planned to attack the Salcete island, but it could not be implemented. The Portuguese were all the while using diplomatic devices to delay the payment of Chauth. But at the same time they were professing unbroken friendship with Shivaji. The relations between them became strained by 1679 over the issue of Chauth. The Portuguese were now prepared for an attack from Shivaji on Goa itself. They were so afraid of him, that they compared him with Attila, the Hun.[384] The premature death of Shivaji in 1680 saved the Portuguese

from this critical situation.

A report submitted by the Viceroy Antonio Paes de Sande, to the King of Portugal on January, 24, 1681 says, "The state of India is presently at peace with its neighbours, and the death of Shivaji has relieved us from an enemy, who was more to be feared while at peace than during open hostilities. He died on the 13th of April of the last year."[385]

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8

MARATHA SWARAJYA ITS EXTENT AND INCOME

It is difficult to ascertain with certainty the territorial limits of Shivaji's Swarajya for paucity of records as well as frequent fluctuations of areas due to constant warfare. The contemporary chronicler of Shivaji, Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad who compiled the life of Shivaji at the behest of his son Rajaram between 1694 and 1697 while he was besieged at Ginji fort in Karnatak (now in Tamil Nadu) made some reference to the extent of Shivaji's *Swarajya.*[386] Another nearly contemporary source is the *jabata* of Swarajya compiled by Shankaraji Malhar dated 19 September, 1717 indicating the boundaries of the Maratha Kingdom during the period of Shahu before granting the sanads of Swarajya[387] to him by the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah in 1719. Another undated document preserved in the Peshwa Daftar, Pune (now called Pune archives) indicates the details of various *subhas* in the possession of Shivaji and the income derived from them by the Maratha Kingdom.[388] Sabhasad makes a passing reference to the income of Shivaji's Kingdom in his *bhakar*.[389]

It is proposed to discuss in this article the extent of Shivaji's Swarajya and its probable income based mainly on the documents preserved in the Pune Archives.

The emergence of Maratha power under Shivaji can be traced to his original jagir of Indapur, Pune, Supe and Chakan, which was granted to him by his father Shahaji while he was in the service of Nizam Shahi of

Ahmednagar. This jagir lay between the two rivers - Bhima and Neera of the present Pune district of Maharashtra. According to a contemporary literary source *Shivabharat*, composed by Paramanand, Shahaji while distributing the Kingdom of Ahmednagar between the Adil Shahi of Bijapur and the Mughals, whose combined forces wiped out the Nizamshahi in 1636, excluded his *jagir* from it and made himself and his son independent[390], either of the Adil Shahi or Mughal rule.

Shahaji, from his jagir, initially granted his son the pot mokasa of Karyat Maval in 1636 the *pargana* of Chakan in 1639, and Indapur *pargana* by 1645. If the version of Paramanand regarding Shahaji's policy is accepted, Shivaji must have started his political career as an independent ruler in a limited area when he was in the age group of 12 to 15 years. This is supported by another contemporary evidence provided by his royal seal which appears on a document dated 28 January 1646. It clearly mentions that the power of Shivaji, Shahaji's son, increases every day like the digits of the moon and is respected by all and that his seal shines for the welfare of the people.[391] Shahaji, after the extinction of Nizamshahi in 1636, joined the services of Adilshahi, which gave an excuse to Adilshah to claim the control over the major forts in the territory of the *jagir*, which was the customary practice in medieval period. However, Shivaji had captured the forts of Rohida, Sinhgad, Purandar by 1647 and established his supremacy over them as against the claims of Adilshah. As Shivaji had popular support in his power building activitites, Jadunath Sarkar calls him 'Hero as King'.[392] In short, it can be maintained that Pune, Chakan, Supe, Indapur Jagir which Shivaji inherited from his father was an independent region which proved to be a stepping stone for the rise of Maratha power under his leadership.

Shahaji failed in saving the Nizamshahi Kingdom of Ahmednagar from the combined forces of the Mughals and

the Adilshahi, but his indirect support to the activities of Shivaji makes one believe that he was the forerunner of Shivaji in founding the Maratha power.[393] He not only granted an independent jagir, but also assigned some experienced men to administer it. Dadoji Kondadev was his first manager, and was supported by a mini cabinet comprising four civil officers with such designations as Peshwa, Muzumdar, Dabir, Sabins and one military chief called Sarbobat.[394] This statement of Sabhasad is supported by Paramanand, the poet laureate of Shivaji that while assigning the Poona Jagir Shahaji provided him with elephants, horses, infantry and 'amatya' of long-standing, well-known officers, insignia *(shikka)*, banners, wealth, warriors of repute, etc when he bade him farewell from Bangalore.[395] Thus, it can be said that the initial boundaries of Shivaji's *Swarajya* as planned by Shahaji comprised the areas of Pune, Supe, Indapur and Chakan, yielding a revenue, according to Sabhasad, forty thousand *hons*.

The Sabhasad *bakhar*, is not chronologically arranged; like other *bakhar*s it does not give us any idea about the actual dates when Shivaji organized the administration of his state as described in the chronicle. According to Sabhasad, the Kingdom of Shivaji was divided into three parts each under a *Sarkarkun* drawn from his cabinet, sometime between the capture of Panhala (March 1673) by Annaji Datto, the Finance Minister and the death of Prataprao Gujar, the Senapati (February 1674). It means that the territories described by Sabhasad formed the extent of Shivaji's Kingdom at the time of his coronation in June 1674. These three parts of the Kingdom were assigned to three responsible ministers called Sarkarkuns as below:

1. Moropant Pingle, the Prime Minister, was in charge of the territories from Kalyan-Bhiwandi to Kolvan, Salheri of the varghat *(above the ghats)* and a part of the

Konkan. It also included areas from Lohagad to Junnar to the twelve Mavals. This was the Northern Division of Swarajya.

2. Annaji Datto, the Finance Minister *(Shuru-navis)* was in charge of the Konkan territory from Choul to Dabhol, Rajapur, Kudal, Bande, Phonda to Koppal. This was the *'Talghat'* (below the *ghat*) or Southern Division.
3. Dattojipant, the Mantri *(waqia-nis)*, had under him the territory from Wai *(varghat)* to Koppal, Tungabhadra in the Karnatak with his headquarters at Panhala. This is the *Desh* or South-Eastern Division.

Besides these areas under *Sarkarkuns*, the territories in the Mughal areas from which mainly Chauth was collected, were under a few brahmans who were supposed to work under the supervision of the Prime Minister.[396]

Thus, it seems that *Konkan, Varghat* and Desh were the three natural sub-divisions of Shivaji's Kingdom at the time of his coronation in 1674, which generally correspond with most of the areas of the modern districts of Kolaba (now called Raigad), Ratnagiri, Thane, Nasik, Pune, Satara and Kolhapur of Maharashtra.[397]

After coronation, Shivaji launched the Karnatak campaign and brought Koppal, Belavade, Hoskote, Shire, Kolar, Vellore and Ginji under his control. Sambhaji, his son, who had joined the Mughal camp of Dilerkhan in 1678, being very much disillusioned by the treatment accorded to him by the Mughals soon returned to the Maratha camp in 1679. He met his father at Panhala in January 1680 where it seems Shivaji must have told him about the extent of his Kingdom and its proposed division between his two sons: Sambhaji and Rajaram.

He expressed his desire to divide his entire Kingdom into two parts : first, comprising the areas lying between the rivers Tungabhadra and Kaveri in Karnatak called the *Chandiche Rajya*, and second, comprising the land

between the rivers Godavari and Tungabhadra in the Maratha country called the *Swarajya*. He offered the first part to Sambhaji and the latter to his second scm Rajaram. From this account of the division of the Maratha Kingdom, as narrated by the chronicler Sabhasad, it appears that Shivaji must have thought of it in the last days of his career with a view to avoiding the probable partition through struggle between his two sons, which might have led to the total destruction of the Maratha State founded by him. He had made it clear, according to Sabshasad though he nominated his sons to these two parts of the Kingdom for administrative convenience it was essentially one polity.[398] However, he could not plan the administrative part of these two divisions as one integrated whole because of his sudden and premature death in April 1680.

Besides the Sabhasad chronicle, indicating the extent of Shivaji's Kingdom, there is one more source known as the *'Jabita Swarajya'* giving details of the areas governed by the Maratha ruler. If both the sources are considered together, one would get an integrated picture of the extent of Shivaji's Kingdom at the time of Shivaji's death.[399] This Jabita was prepared by Shankar Malhar in September 1717 on behalf of the Mughals who had to settle the claims of Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji, who was under the Mughal captivity after his father's cruel execution by the Mughals in 1689, and was released only in 1707. Shankaraji Malhar was originally the Sachiv of Rajaram, but due to some differences with his master, he shifted to the Mughal camp at Banaras. He was brought to Delhi by Faruqshiyar, the Mughal emperor, to serve the Saiyyad brothers. He shortly won the confidence of Hussain Saiyyad and negotiated the Maratha claims over the territories occupied by the Mughals between 1689 and 1707. This document mainly deals with the *Swarajya* territories comprising the Konkan and the *Varghat.* The Konkan had 13 subhas divided in 127 Mahals and the *Varghat* had 16 subhas divided into 101 Mahals; mahal

being a specific amount of revenue yielding area. It also enumerates the names of 145 forts in the possession of Shivaji. Thus the 29 *subhas* comprising 228 Mahals and 145 forts form the core of Shivaji's Swarajya as per the memorandum of Shankaraji Sachiv.

Lastly there is one more unpublished evidence preserved in the Pune Archive which helps us to decide the extent of Shivaji's kingdom. This document is undated and is without any official seal; it is probably a copy of the original document. While narrating the account of the maximum income of Shivaji's Kingdom, the writer of this document mentions three divisions of *Swarajya*, namely *Talkonkan* with 13 subhas, *Varghat* 8 subhas and *Desh* 15 subhas in all 36 subhas. It generally corresponds with the accounts of Sabhasad and Shankaraji Malhar, discussed above, as far as the extent of Shivaji's Swarajya is concerned. These three sources, if considered together it would enable us to get a fair picture of the extent of Shivaji's Swarajya.

However, one is landed into difficulties while fixing the total income of Shivaji's Kingdom for want of authentic state papers in this respect. According the the *Mestaka* (a book of directions and patterns of writing) of Hemadpant, a medieval statesman, the eight major sources of income of the state are *Jaraib* (land revenue) *Jakat, bagait, barnagjad* (orchards), *bar gujarat* (creepers) *barasti* (trees) *katubana* (waste lands) and *jujuya* i.e. *sadilvar* and other taxes). If one applies these norms to the period of accounts of income maintained in Shivaji's Swarajya, one finds that this medieval system was largely followed by the Maratha ruters.[400] However, the stray papers of accounts that are extant fail us to know the total income of the state in a particular year or a specific period. Sabhasad at one place mentions Shivaji as saying that he started with the Pune Mahal (his original jagir) yielding a revenue of 40 thousand hons, which was expanded into a Kingdom of one crore hons as its income.

Hon is a medieval gold coin whose exchange value depended on its weight. It varies between 3 and 4 rupees per *hon* of the medieval period. If one accepts this, then the upper limit of income of Shivaji's Swarajya could be fixed between 3 to 4 crores of medieval rupees. Jadunath Sarkar, however, rejected this statement of Sabhasad as an exaggerated one and maintained that it would not be more than 1/10 of the estimate given by Sabhasad. Jadunath Sarkar assumed the exchange rate of Hon varying between 5 and 7 medieval rupees.[401] But this seems to be his guess rather than a statement based on authentic records. A careful scrutiny of exchange rate of hons and rupees, allows the variation between 3 and 3½ rupees only.[402]

The writer of the document gives the maximum income of Shivaji's Swarajya in terms of *Patshahi* Hon as below :

1	Talkonkan (13 subhas)	1,42,00,000
2	Varghat (8 subhas)	7,25,000
3	Desh (15 sutihas)	15,75,000
	Total	1,65,00,000

Patshahi hon means the gold coins struck by Muhammad Shah of Bijapur and its weight was 51.5 grains, and the gold content in it was 78.75 percent. Its exchange rate with the contemporary Alamgiri rupees was 3½ rupees.[403] Thus, the actual figures given in this unpublished document totally, demolish the guesstimate of Jadunath Sarkar and partly comes nearer to the estimate of the chronicler Sabhasad, which is not an exaggerated but a moderate one. There is always some difference between the actual and maximum (*kamal*) collection of revenue. Sabhasad, therefore, gives the figure which he could remember when he was far away from the Swarajya, but he was certainly not a man with "half-obliterated memory" as Sarkar considers him.[404] It may, therefore, be

concluded, with the help of Sabhasad and the unpublished document of Pune Archives that the income of Shivaji's kingdom was certainly above one crore of hons per annum.

Sahhasad had given the details of the property held by Shivaji.[405] Another nearly contemporary *bakhar* called 91 Qalmi *bakhar* also repeats Sahhasad in this respect but as it forms a part of Shivaji's personal income, it cannot be considered while estimating the income of Shivaji's Swarajya.

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387 Dr. Raghubir Singh (Ed.) Maratha Rajya Sambandhi Abhilekha (Hindi), 1707-1719. Sitamau, 1982, pp 14-30.

388 This undated document is found in the selections made by Vad for further research, rumal (bundle) No. 5 of the Pune Archives.

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390 S. M. Divekar and D. V. Apte (Ed.) Shivabharat by Paramanand, Pune, 1927, Canto 9 Verse 20, p. 77.

391 D. V. Kale Chhatrapati Shivaji, Pune, 1960, p. 36.

392 J, N. Sarkar, Shivaji and His Times 5th Ed., Calcutta, 1952, p. 30.

393 V. K. Rajwade (Ed.) Radha Madhav Vilas Champu by Jayram Pinde, Introduction, Pune, 1922, p. 36.

394 Sabhasad, Op. cit., Shamrao Nilakantha (Peshwa), Blakirshnapant. (Muzumdar), Sonopant (Dabir), Raghunath Ballal (Sabnis), and Tukoji Chor (Sarnobat), pp. 3-4.

395 Shivbharat, Op. cit., p. 88, Canto 10:23-27.

396 Sabhasad, Op. cit., p. 107.

397 Ibid., pp. 74-75.

398 A. R. Kulkarni, Shivakalin Maharashtra (marathi), Pune, 1993.

399 Sabhasad, Op. cit, p. 93.

400 Ibid., p. 106.

401 Raghubir Singh, Op. cit., pp 14-30.

402 A. R. Kulkarni, Maharashtra In The Age of Shivaji, Pune, 1969, pp 105-167.

403 Sabhasad, Op. cit., p. 107.

404 Sarkar, Op. Cit., p. 107.

405 Kulkarni, Maharashtra, Op. cit., p. 134.

9

MARATHAS AND THE SEA

Maratha country is fortunate in having a long coastline, with natural harbours for anchoring small and big ships, and rocky islands to serve as sentinels of these harbours on the west-coast. Nature has showered all its gifts on the Maratha country but the Maratha man has failed to exploit these natural resources either for commercial purposes or for political ambitions. In the 17th century, among other Indian powers, Marathas alone could claim to be the only major power which could think of organizing navy for political purposes. The reason was obvious. They had to deal with the European powers who had occupied parts of the Maratha country on the Westcoast for establishing their factories, and also for striking their roots in the Indian soil. In order to protect their infant kingdom from the devilish motives of the European powers, the Marathashad to devise ways and means to check the growing ambitions of these traders-cum-rulers. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha power, who had made the Konkan region on the west-coast as the base of his state, had to deal with these European powers on the west-coast, and this he could do only by organizing the naval power. The Mughals and the Adilshahi rulers of Bijapur, were certainly aware of the menance of these European powers on the West-coast, but as they did not come directly in conflict with them for their very political existence, they did not pay much attention to the establishment of a naval organization. On the contrary they utilized the services of the Siddis of Danda Rajapuri to check the growing activities of the Marathas in the Konkan. The Siddis and the Portuguese, who had come to stay as political powers on the west-

coast in the Maratha country and who were supported by the Mughals, the Bijapurians and the English, as occasion demanded, were thus the only enemies of the Marathas with whom they had to fight on land as well as on sea of which they were the masters.

Marathas dominated the political scene of Indian history nearly for two centuries, namely the 17th and the 18th but it was only during the brief period of Shivaji's short regime, in the 17th century that some attempts were made to build the navy which included the construction of marine forts and also warships of various sizes. The foreigners, therefore, could refer to the Marathas fleet as Shivaji's Armada,[406] in their official correspondence. We also find a few references to the commercial activities of the Maratha during this period. The pioneering work of Shivaji, could not be continued in the sebsequent period and this splendid edifice was destroyed due to the infighting between the Peshwas and the Maratha Admirals of the House of Angres a little before the tragedy of Panipat in 1761.

In this brief resume of maritime history of the Marathas, it is proposed to consider the beginning of Maratha naval activities under Shivaji, his naval policy emerging out of experience, the construction of marine forts and the develoment of dockyards, the encounters with the Siddis and the Portuguese, the commercial activities, and lastly in brief the extinction of the Marathas as a naval power.

Shivaji's successful encounter with the Bijapurians in 1659 opened him the gates to the Konkan and brought under him Kalyan, Bhivandi and Panvel which were adjacent to the North Province of the Portuguese. He realized shortly that without navy he would not be able to control the creeks on which these places of trade and commerce were situated. He also realized that the timber which was available in plenty in the Kalyan-Bhivandi area could be fruitfully utilized for constructing ships and

developing a dockyard. A Portuguese source of 1659 mentions that Shivaji built a navy at Kalyan, Bhivandi and Panvel.[407] As Kalyan creek was joined to Vasai, the Marathas required the Portuguese *cartazes* for plying their ships on the Arabian Sea. The sea from Thana to Chaul was under the control of the Portuguese. However, within a period of two years, it seems, Shivaji made good progress in developing his navy, and even the Portuguese were worried about him, as the Viceroy of Goa gave orders to stop the issue of *cartazes* to Shivaji. By plundering the ports of Rajapur, Dabhol and also later on capturing them by 1661, Shivaji brought under his control a major part of the Ratnagiri district, and thereby gave a threat to the Siddis as well as to the Portuguese.

A Dutch recrod of 1664 says that Shivaji built the marine fort on the rock island near Harney port (Ratnagiri district) and he had forty *galbats* well-equipped and he built sixty anew taking advantages of the fighting between the Adilshahi,rulers and the Mughals, and that he was quite friendly with the Dutch. The marine fort mentioned here is Suvarna Durga. His first naval expedition, which he personally led in 1664 was against Basrur, the chief port of Shivappa Naik of Bidnur (Karnatak), and the foreign powers indirectly involved in this were the Portuguese and the Dutch, and also the English to some extent. Shivaji acted very diplomatically. He simultaneously invaded Bardes, to create confusion in the minds of the Portuguese, and captured Kudal and Sawantwadi and plundered Vengurla to check the Dutch. The English were anxiously waiting for the Portugese to give the possession of Bombay island to them, and Shivaji was waiting for the Portuguese navy to move towards the North and give effect to this order of transfer of Bombay issued by the Portuguese King. Shivaji with his armada of 85 *Shibads* and three big *galbats* assaulted Basrur and plundered it on 8th February 1665, the day on which Bombay was transferred to the English by the Portuguese. The booty

thus resulting out of the sack of Surat in 1664, and Basrur in 1665 was utilized for strengthening the base of the infant Maratha kingdom in the Konkan by building a strong navy and a few marine forts.

This successful encounter against Basrur had far-reaching consequences as far as the maritime history of the Marathas was concemed. As the contemporary chronicler Sabhasad records, 'he brought his own ships, well equipped, and led them personally;' this is the unique example in medieval history, where a king was personally leading the armada.[408] This personal experience taught Shivaji not only the importance of navy as a limb of the state, but also the technique of naval warfare, the importance of coastal ports and marine forts guarding them and the geography of the west-coast upto Bhatkal, as he had to cross many port-towns from Malwan to Basrur-(a distance of about 300 kilometres by land-route), like Vengurla, Goa, Karwar, Gokurna, Kumtha, Honavar, Ganguli, Bhatkal, etc.[409] The main objective of Shivaji's navy was to constrain the activities of the Siddis rather than to pick-up quarrels with the strong naval powers like the Portuguese or the English. The Marathas had no ambition to extend their power beyond the seas, hence the question of naval conflict with any foreign power did not arise. Secondly, as the Marathas were not born traders, and the country itself was not producing any exportable commodities, the development of a mercantile flotila was not given any serious consideration by them.

Shivaji had major encounters with the Siddis from 1661 till his death in 1680. But it must be admitted here, that with all his tactics, and land-victories, Shivaji could not defeat the Siddis on the sea and capture their stronghold Murud-Janjira. To check the Siddis, he planned to conquer the Khanderi island, about 18 km south of Bombay, which he thought would serve as a good naval base. In October 1679, he landed on that small rocky island with men and

material and fortified it.[410] This involved the English in a conflict with the Marathas. However, inspite of their superior artillery and maritime supremacy, the agility of the Marathas, and their small boats in big numbers, forced the English to withdraw, and allow them to take possession of the island of Khanderi. But the occupation of Underi island, lying close to Khanderi, by the Siddis, defeated the purpose of Shivaji, and the Siddi menace continued to threaten the Marathas in the subsequent course of their history.[411] The Portuguese who were a decadent power during the period of Shivaji, avoided major conflict with the Marathas, except some minor skirmishes arising out of some local issues.

Nothing spectacular happened from the point of view of maritime history of the Marathas during the period of Sambhaji, the successor of Shivaji, inspite of his daring and adventurous spirit. The age-long enmity with the Siddis and the Portuguese continued, but no tangible results were achieved by the Marathas during the period of Sambhaji or Rajaram against their coastal enemies. Sambhaji's efforts to capture Underi from the Siddis failed miserably. The Maratha assault on the Janjira fort in 1682 met with a similar fate. As Sambhaji was involved in a conflict with the Mughals, he could not deal with the Portuguese effectively. The Portuguese, however, wanted to remain neutral, and therefore concluded a treaty with Sambhaji in 1684, by which mutual non-aggression at sea was conceded by both the parties.[412] Shivaji was fully aware that for the development of coastal trade as well as foreign trade escorting fleets were necessary. Jadhunath Sarkar has aptly remarked, "A merchant fleet is also the nursery of a national fighting navy."[413] It is quite clear from the references in the East India Company's records that Shivaji had established commercial relations with Mocha (Western Arabia), Persia, Bussera, Aden, Muscat etc."[414] Chaul, Dabhol, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Vengurla, Pen, Rajapur,

etc. were the main port-towns engaged in coastal trade, during this period.[415] A factory record of 1662 mentions that Shivaji was fitting out two vessels of a considerable burden which he intended for Mocha.[416] Another report of the year 1664-65 says that Shivaji had possessed himself of the most considerable "ports belonging to Deccan, to the number of eight or nine, from whence he sets out two or three more trading vessels yearly from every port to Persia, Bussera, Mocha, etc."[417] Elsewhere it is stated that 'a junk of Sevagee arrived from Aden the past-day with little or nought in her.'[418] A letter of 1674 mentions that he had at Rajapur four or five three-masted vessels which used to be employed in trade to Muscat and other places."[419]

As regards the articles of trade, we have not enough information, but it seems that rice and salt were the two major trading commodities. It is recorded that in the storm of 1669, several of Shivaji's ships and rice-boats were lost, "one ship whereof was very richly laden."[420] About salt, is mentioned that a salt fleet having for convoy a ship of 250 *tunns* and some frigates' had gone to Trombay from Bombay to purchase salt."[421]

Since Shivaji's escape from Agra, and his recovery of the ceded territories, the English were trying to be friendly with him, and were hopeful of a treaty of friendship with him. The record says, "he (Shivaji) is much a friend to our nation, if to any, and exceedingly desires our trade again in his ports, and in truth his ports of Rajapur, Dabhol, Keley, etc, are of exceeding and indispensible necessity for the trade of Bombay," they yielded great quantities of goods of all sorts proper for Europe, and were cheaper than that of Surat and other places, where they were dearer by 25% than that of Rajapur. Similarly, the Company believed that the trade in Shivaji's country would consume more quantities of European Commodities particularly copper and tin useful for mints. Shivaji had also promised to settle

a warehouse of his merchants in Bombay, "for putting of great quantities of goods which he hath lying by him."[422]

Thana, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Alibag, Vijaydurg, Vasai and Malvan were the chief shipbuilding centres of the Marathas, with their dockyards at Alibag and Vijaydurg. Teak wood of a fine quality required for ship building was available in plenty in these areas.[423] According to Sabhasad, the chronicler ot Shivaji, he had built six types of ships like Gurabs, Galbat, Sibars, Tarandes, Tarus and Pagars... in this manner seven hundred ships were equipped in the Sea.[424] It is difficult to get the numerical strength of Shivaji's navy, though we find some stray references to his 'armada' in the English records. Sabhasad says that the Maratha navy was formed into two squadrons of 200 vessels each and commanded by two admirals Darya Sarang and Mai Nayak.[425]

In 1670, as per one English report some 60 or 70 vessels of Shivaji were at the mouth of Bombay port.[426]

Again, it is reported in the same year that he was with a considerable fleet at Nagaon, near Bombay.[427] "There is a report that Sevagees armada is coming out, consisting of 6 ships and 40 grabs" says one document of 1673.[428] In a record of 1675, it is mentioned that he had 57 small frigates, well manned to deal with the Siddis.[429] References are also found to Shivaji's great preparations at sea, equipment with men, provisions and all manner of materials.[430] It seems that the English did not always apprehend any danger from Shivaji's fleet. According to them "his fleet consisting only of small grabbs and slight and inconsiderable boats, very ill fitted, and his men totally inexperienced to the sea.[431] However, they were scared of "the deeper designs for his Armada. But his designs are so well laid and secretly carried on that no judgement can be made of them till they are executed."[432]

Shivaji was known as a great fort builder. He was born

on a fort and died on a fort. To him fort was the essence of the kingdom. He no doubt, utilized land and hills in his territory for constructing forts, but did not spare sea also when he understood the importance of navy. A modern author, James Douglas, writes, 'It was a great mercy that Shivaji was not a seaman, otherwise he might have swept the sea as he did the land.... He liked the sea, but the sea did not like him'[433]

The *janjiras* or marine forts of Shivaji were of two types - those which were built on rocky island, surrounded by sea on all sides, and the second one were coastal forts or the head-land forts, constructed on the sea-shore with their entrances from the land side and rears facing the sea. Sindhdurg, Anjanwel, Yeshwantgad or Reddi, Vijayadurg or Gheria, Jayagad, Ratnagiri, Kolaba, Khanderi, were some of the major marine forts of Shivaji, either constructed or renovated and fortified by him during his period to fight mainly with the Siddis, and protect the Marathas from the European powers on the west-coast.[434]

Shivaji poured a lot of money in these forts of Konkan.[435] He used the latest technology by borrowing the services of skilled artisans, particularly the Portuguese, yet it must be admitted that none of his forts could surpass the Danda Rajapuri marine fort of the Siddis in any respect.[436] The main function of these forts was to serve as store-houses, and guard the sea against the activities of the enemy. This purpose must have been fairly achieved by these forts during the period of Shivaji.

Shivaji's naval policy has been epitomized by his contemporary Ramachandrapant Amatya in one of the sections in his treatise on Maratha polity entitled *'Ajnyapatra'* or 'Royal Edict' written before 1717.[437] Jadhunath Sarkar says, "Nothing proves Shivaji's genius as a born statesman more clearly than his creation of a navy and naval bases."[438] While pointing out the importance of navy, Amatya, the author of Anjyapatra says,

"Navy is an independent limb of the state. Just as a king's fame for success on land is in proportion to the strength of his cavalry, so the mastery of the sea is in the hands of him who possesses thc sea. Therefore a navy should necessarily be built." The salient features of Shivaji's naval policy as pointed out by Amatya are :

Fast *gurabs*, neither very great nor very small should be built and should be of middle size. Large *galbats* as they are not useful without the help of wind should not be built. All naval force should be fully and well-equipped with brave and efficient fighters, guns, short guns, matchlocks, ammunition, grenades and other material of naval use.

Every unit of the navy comprising five *gurabs* and fifteen *galbats*, should be seperately arranged under one admiral called Sarsubha. For the expenses of the navy the revenue of a particular territory should be apportioned to control the behaviour of the naval servants.

Trade should be encouraged, as it will cause the growth of income of the state through customs. In the sea *tarandi*, (ships of the kolis) and merchants should be protected and allowed to move freely. If the ships of the foreign merchants, besides those of the enemy, not possessing permits, are coming and going, then they should not be allowed to move without inspection. They should be treated with sympathy and all necessary help be given to them after charging a little custom duty. If there is a big merchant, he should be treated a little more hospitably according to his importance on behalf of the government. An effort should be made to see that the foreign merchant feels assured in every way and attracted and enters into commercial intercourse with the kingdom.

If the navy and the hostile ships meet each other and begin fighting, all should strive to join in the fighting. If the wind is not favourable, whatever may be our strength, without coming into contact with the enemy and gradually cutting off our contact from the enemy, our fleet should be

brought under the protection of a sea-fort. The safety of ships and sailors should never be risked. A treacherous enemy should not be called near and never be trusted even if he seeks a promise of safety.

It should be done a week or two before the rising of storms and that should not be done in the same port or under protection of any sea-fort or in the open sea. If sheltering is done every year at one and the same port, the men of the fleet however often warned, are sure to give a great deal of trouble to the same port of the country..... The sheltering should be done only in fortified ports.... Disorder should not at all be allowed to take place in the territory where the ships are sheltered. Trees should not be cut without royal permission.

Thus, it can be seen from the above features of the naval policy, how minutely Shivaji had worked out the details of the naval policy and how much he was interested in developing navy for political as well as economic purposes.

The subsequent history of the Marathas shows gradual departure from the policies land down by Shivaji, in every aspect, which caused the ultimate ruin of the Maratha power. This is true of naval policy as well. Shivaji tried to institutionalize administration, but the later administrators worked for making their offices hereditary. This is how the Peshwaship became the prerogative of the Bhat family and the house of the Angres of Kolaba and to some extent of the Dhulaps as the perpetual holders of the Admirality. It is really an irony of history that the Peshwas who were the sons of the sea, not only neglected the development of navy so essential for the prosperity of their own *watan* land, the Konkan, but also became instrumental in destroying the house of Angres, with the help of the British.[439] Kanhoji Angre (1669-1729), the terror of all the powers of the West-coast, was the last great Maratha seaman, who excelled in every aspect of naval leadership

like personal courage, organization of navy, technique of naval warfare, etc. He was just emerging as a strong sea-fighter during the period of Sambhaji (1680-1689) and was made Sarkhel or the Chief Admiral by Rajaram, in recognition of his successful skirimishes against the Siddis, the major enemy of the Marathas.

Division was a curse to Maratha power, and the House of Chhatrapati was no exception to it. After the release of Shahu from the Mughal camp, he should have legally occupied the Maratha throne, but due to the obstinancy of Tarabai, the widow of Rajaram,

(1689-1700) the Maratha gadi was divided into Satara and Kolhapur, which led to the division of loyalties among the Maratha Sardars. Balaji Vishwanath, the first Peshwa, succeeded in winning Kanhoji Angre to Shahu's camp, and by a treaty, Kanhoji obtained ten sea-forts and sixteen land forts, Sarkhelship, and a territory of 34 lakhs revenue with Kolaba as his capital.[440] This is the departure from the principle or policy of Shivaji, who was against military saranjams, or permanent land assignment.

Though the foreign powers denigrated Kanhoji as a pirate, he was a competent man on sea, who could subdue the Siddis, the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch. He died in 1729 at the age of 60 after firmly establishing the authority of his House in the Konkan. But later on, the dispute between his two sons Sambhaji and Manaji over property led to the destruction of the house of the Angres. Manaji was supported by the Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao and also by the English. After the death of the first three sons of Kanhoji namely Sekhoji, Sambhaji and Manaji, the last son Tulaji became the Sarkhel. He was quite successful in maintaining the integrity of the Konkan against the foreigners. But he could not fight against his own people, particularly the Peshwa. He was defeated twice by the combined forces of the Peshwa and the English first at Suvarnadurg (1755) and then at Vijaydurg (1756).[441] This

practically put an end to the Maratha naval power and the Marathas were reduced simply to a maritime community leading their lives as fishermen rather than as naval fighters.

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436 Shivaji had utilized the services of Portuguese artisans for building his war-ships, and the marine fort of Sindhudurga. See Pissurlencar op. city, p 42 and 54.

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10

MEDIEVAL CHAUL

Founded on the site of an old Hindu settlement, Chaul has a long antiquity.[442] The Portuguese town of Chaul lay 357 kilometres north of Goa and 56 kilometres south of Bombay at the mouth of the Kundalika river. In early literature, it has been referred to as Champavati or Revati; and in our records it has been mentioned by different names as Chemuli, Cheul, Murtuzabad and Revadanda (perhaps derived from its ancient name Revati). It is difficult to reconstruct the history of this once famous port-town on the west coast of India for want of reliable and accurate accounts. Besides, as the politicial boundaries were constantly shifting due to wars and treaties, in the medieval period one cannot say with certainty whether at a particular time the town was under the Turks, local Muslims, Portuguese, Mughals or the Marathas. However, an attempt has been made here, with the help of indigenous and foreign sources, to present a connected account of Chaul up to A. D. 1740, by which time it had become an integral part of the Maratha dominion and continued as such till the British conquest in 1818.

Historical Backdrop

Mahikavatichi Bakhar, a chronicle composed by Keshavacharya and others between 1448 and 1678, furnishes some details of the political history of Chaul up to the advent of the Portuguese. A copy of the original, made by one Valaji Patil of Vasai (Bassein) in 1829, is the only extant version of this *bakhar* available now to the scholars of the history of Konkan.[443]

The early rulers of Konkan, particularly from the 6th

century onwards, were Shilaharas, Rashtrakutas, Mauryas, Chalukyas, Kadambas and Yadavas, and Chaul must have been under the sway of one of these dynasties. Cosmas, a Greek merchant who visited the west coast in the 6th century mentions the seaport of Sibor which may be identified with Chaul. The Arab chronicler Masudi, who came to Chaul in the early 10th century, found it a flourishing colony inhabited by Muslims living in peace and practising their religion in a Hindu kingdom. Chaul has been referred to as Saimur. Arab geographers mention Arab settlements in the Konkan and Konkani Musalmans are said to be the descendant of these early Arab settlers. Another traveller Mahalhil, who visited Chaul in about 941, mentions it as place a inhabited by a race descended from the Turks and the Chinese.[444] The presence of the Chinese in Chaul explains the origin of its silk industry in the subsequent period of its history. According to Alberunii (c.1000) and Idrisi (c.1150), Chaul was a well-built town surrounded by coconut palms and producing *henna*.[445]

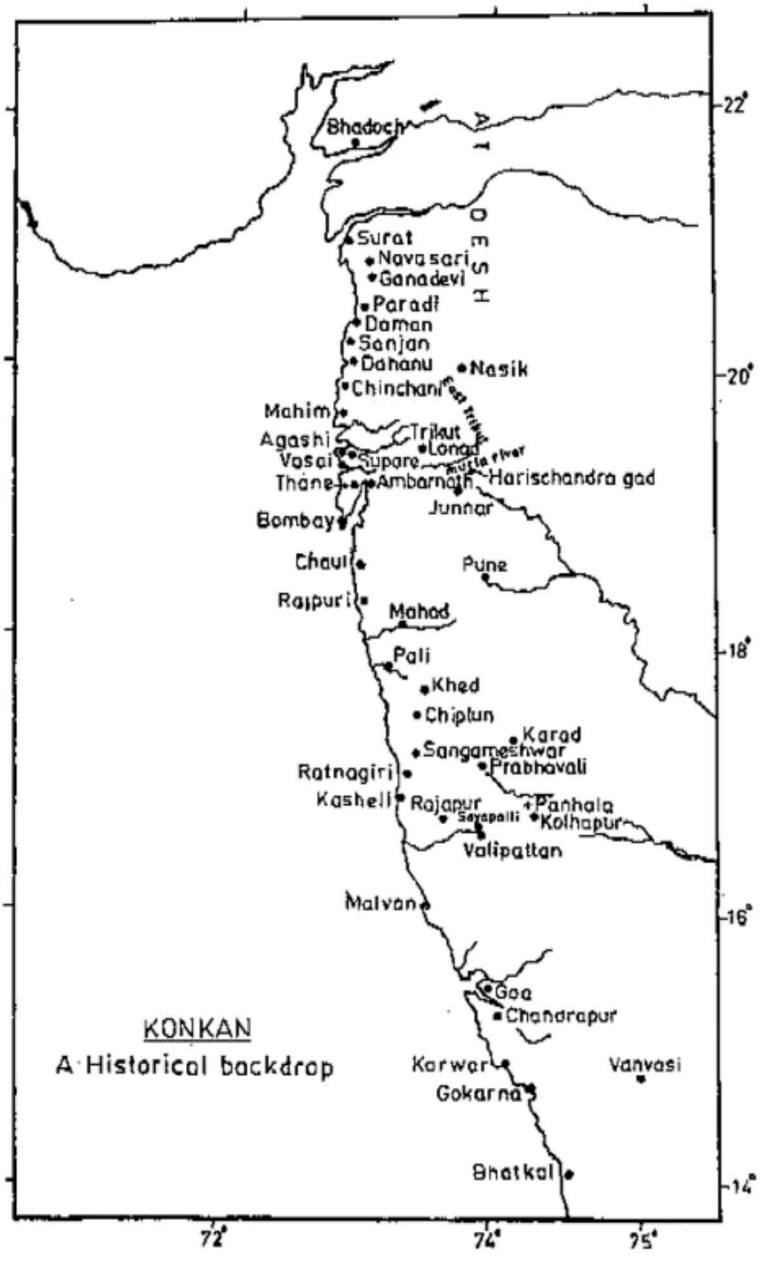
In the early 13th century Chaul was under Raja Bhoja, perhaps a *shilahar* and the feudatory of the Yadavas. Nagarsha, a Vaishya ruler of Ghandevi, defeated the Bimbas of the Konkan in 1241 and captured their kingdom of Thane Konkan. He also defeated Ramdevrao Yadav, the ruler of Deogiri in 1271 and annexed Chaul as its ruler had died heirless. At Chaul he placed his minister with an army of 2,000 men and fourteen elephants.[446] The kingdom of the Yadavas of Deogiri collapsed after the invasion of Ala-ud-din Khalji in 1294, and one of Ramdevrao's sons, Bimbadeva, came to Thane Konkan and defeated Nagarsha and his son Tripurkumar, and pushed them to Chaul by about 1295. He made Mahim his capital. Nagarsha and his son died about 1310 and his grandson Nagarsha II became the ruler of Chaul. He later on defeated the ruler of Mahim in 1332 and became the master of Konkan from Thane to Chaul. Muhammad Tughluq attacked his territory in 1348 and destroyed the

kingdom of Thane Konkan. Nika Malik was appointed as the governor of this area, and he placed Lahursha, a descendant of Nagarsha, on the throne of Thane Konkan. Lahursha ruled for a brief period of nine years after which the kingdom was entrusted to the Nayatas in 1357. The Nayatyas were indigenous Muslims, who were in this region from the beginning of the 13th century. By 1429, the Sultan of Ahmedabad captured this area and during the period of Muhamad Shah Begada, the Portuguese came to the Konkan coast around 1500 with two vessels, *Senor Deskor* and *Senor Bozizuz*, under the captaincy of Lorez Louis Detrov.[447] They established their first factory at Vasai by about 1512, and in the course of time occupied a major part of Konkan displacing the Muslims.

Chaul, it seems, was under the Bahamanis from the days of the Bahamani ruler Muhammad II (1378-97). He had appointed teachers at Chaul 'for imparting Islamic learning and granted scholarship to the needy students.'[448] The Portuguese first came into contact with Chaul in 1507-8, when it was under Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. In 1508, D. Laurenco, the son of Francisco de Almeida, the Portuguese viceroy (1505-9), was killed in the battle of Chaul while fighting against the combined forces of the Sultans of Gujarat and Egypt.[449] Albuquerque, the Portuguese governor (1509-15), came to Chaul in August 1513, and realized its importance as a site for a fortress.[450]

In 1519, Diogo, the governor, gave orders for building a fort at Chaul.[451] Diogo sent Christovao de Souza with a large body of matchlockmen in 1521 to Chaul, but he was expelled by the inhabitants. He then sent Fernao Coelho to get the necessary permission for erecting the fort, and opening factory, but this time his plan was impeded by Agha Muhammad of Diu. The task became easy during the governorship of Menezes (1521-4).[452] By 1559-60 the Portuguese started constructing a fort on the Korlia hills at Revadanda without seeking the prior permission of the

Nizam. When an envoy was sent to him to settle the matter, Nizam Shah not only imprisoned him, but sent an army towards Revadanda for constructing a fort and thereby stopping the Portuguese from fortifying the town of Chaul. Alarmed by this move, the Portuguese concluded peace with the Nizam.[453] Burhan Shah II was annoyed with the Portuguese who had plundered Muslim pilgrims in 1592-93 coming from Mecca to Chaul in a ship called *Husaini*. The Sultan built a fort on the hills of Karelah between Chaul and Revadanda and made a vain bid to suppress the Portuguese. Nothing tangible resulted out of this struggle except heavy losses on both sides.[454]



The Portuguese retained their effective control over Chaul even though politically it was under the Nizamshahi. They obtained the right to collect half the land revenue of Chaul from Malik Ambar in 1604, in recognition of the aid

he was receiving to resist the Mughal pressure.[455] However, because of their oppressive methods, the Portuguese were forced to return the excess revenue collected by them and restore normalcy in Chaul. In 1612 the fort of Chaul was besieged by the Nizamshah with a view to evicting the Portuguese from there, but due to the intervention of the Adil Shah of Bijapur, the Portuguese could avert this danger. Finally, in 1625 Malik Ambar marched towards Chaul and punished the Portuguese for their atrocities and forced them to conclude peace.[456]

Shahaji, the father of Shivaji, had established friendly relations with the Portuguese, and when he was hard-pressed by the Mughals, he wrote to the captain of Chaul in 1636 to give shelter to his family in his fort.[457] After the extinction of the Nizamshahi dynasty when its territory was distributed between the Mughals and the Adil Shah, upper Chaul remained under the Adil Shah, and lower Chaul, popularly known as Revadanda, passed into the hands of the Portuguese. Chaul appears to have been a safe asylum for the Deccani powers as for instance, the queen of Bijapur stayed *incognito* at Chaul in 1662.[458]

Shivaji started his territorial expansion after 1656, and it seems that after his victory over the Adil Shahi kingdom in 1659, he brought under his direct or indirect control the Konkan possessions of Bijapur, for one of the Surat despatches of 1664 says that the kings of Bijapur had sent an army against Shivaji, intending to take from him territory as far as Chaul.[459] The news had spread that Shivaji had taken Chaul from the Portuguese by 1668-69,[460] which, as shown below, was not true.

Henry Oxinden, the East Indian Company's envoy, who was to attend the coronation of Shivaji at Raigad in June 1674, stopped at uppper Chaul on 15th May 1674. He had to spend the previous night at St. Sebastian's Church outside the Portuguese Chaul, as the city gates would close down at 8 p.m. only. He was told by a Portuguese

gentleman that they were very suspicious of Shivaji, and the viceroy of Goa had declared a war against him. Oxinden did not believe it thinking that the Portuguese at that time were not in a position to fight against Shivaji.[461] It means that Shivaji had captured upper Chaul but the Portuguese did not hand over lower Chaul or Revadanda to him. In 1683, Sambhaji, Shivaji's son attacked Chaul, but did not succeed in capturing it.[462] Kanhoji Angre, the Maratha admiral, it was alleged by the Portuguese in a despatch of 8th January 1718, was mainly responsible for the destruction of their trade through Chaul, as they had to take *dastak* (permission) from Angre for plying their ships on the sea.[463]

The Portuguese Chaul came under the Marathas only after the fall of Vasai in 1739. Kanhoji Angre, the arch enemy of the Portuguese, died in 1729, and a domestic feud ensued in his family, perhaps at the instigation of the Portuguese captain of Chaul, as one of his sons Manoji had secured asylum at Chaul in 1734. When the struggle between the Marathas and the Portuguese was at its peak in 1739, the Portuguese offered the fort of Chaul to the Dutch, if they helped them against the Marathas. The Dutch, however, declined this offer. Peshwa Bajrao I demanded Chaul from the Portuguese in 1739. By a treaty of 25th November 1740, Chaul (Revadanda) and Korla (Morro) were handed over to the Marathas in exchange of two villages-Kunkali and Asolane of Sashti division.[464] Thus, it was only in 1740 that the Marathas got complete control over Chaul and it remained under them till 1818, when the entire Maratha dominion was taken over by the British.

European Accounts

When Duarte Barbosa visited Chaul in the early 16th century, it was entirely under the Muslims. Konkan is known from antiquity for the barrenness of its land and hilly

tracts. It hardly produces anything in plenty which could be exported on a large scale to the Middle East or European countries. Its phenomenal poverty prohibited it from absorbing any costly foreign goods. Nevertheless, since ancient times, its ports had been known for busy commercial activity. Yet the natives of the Konkan, though sea-faring people, were not involved in any foreign trade through sea-routes on their own. The ports of the Konkan, therefore, played the role of exchange houses, or meeting places of foreign merchants.

Chaul was not an exception to this. The Russian traveller Nikitin, who visited the west coast in the middle of the 15th century, considered Dabhol and Chaul as the great meeting places of all nations. Traffic from the west coast to the Red Sea was mainly in the hands of the Arabs, who had their settlements on the west coast including Chaul. These Arab merchants also supplied capital to the weavers of Chaul to manufacture textiles which would meet their requirement of trade. Chaul was for sometime under the Nayatya rulers, and the Nayata community had distinguished themselves in weaving. The Konkani Musalamans, considered as the descendants of the early Arab settlers, were traditional weavers who had developed the textile industry in Chaul. The Chinese who came to this place in the ancient period were responsible for introduciug the technique of silk manufacture in Chaul. In fact, Konkan does not produce cotton or silk-worm yet Chaul became a prosperous trading centre in the medieval period as a result of the transport facilities provided by the sea, the natural harbour, the skilled labour available in the region and the capital provided perhaps by selling horses to the rulers of the Deccan. Barbosa, therefore, says, 'the Moors of Chaul take away every year a great number of pieces of fine muslin for turbans in which they traffic with Arabia and Persia, where it held in great esteem. They also have many fine calicos and Roman turbans. These three kinds of cloth are woven in this kingdom.'[465]

Varthema, another Portuguese traveller of the early 16th century, testifies that cotton stuffs were manufactured here in great abundance.[466] Linschoten, who also visited Chaul in the 16th century, says, 'there is a place by Chaul, which is the old town of the naturally borne countrymen, where divers kindes of silkes are woven, all sortes and colours, as Groceran, Satin, Taffata, and such like stuffes, in so great abundance, that India and all other places bordering the same, are served therewith: whereby the inhabitants of Chaul have great commodities, by bringing the raw silk out ot China, spinning and weaving it there; and again being woven, to carry and distribute it throughout all India.'[467] According to another account, as late as 1668, the weavers of Chaul were making 5,000 pieces of taffetas a year - giving thus an idea of the quantities involved.[468]

The French traveller Pyrard, visiting Chaul in the early 17th century, also mentions that sufficient silk was made there to supply to Goa and all India, and that it was better than China silk and much prized at Goa. He also mentions that the people of Chaul made very fine boxes and other small carved articles.[469] To this Linschoten adds that they made 'many and excellent bedstead, stooles for women covered with stuffes (that is lacquer or vamish), of all colours and such like merchandises, whereby they have great traffique'[470] Varthema mentions that the foreigners collected immense quantities of grain, of bareley and of vegetables of every description.[471] De la Valle mentions in 1623 that the groves and gardens of palm and other fruit trees shaded the broad roads and adorned the Muslim as well as the Portuguese city of Chaul. Pepper, cardamom, betelnut and ginger seem to be locally grown in this area as in other parts of the Konkan, and must have been exported. Besides this, among the exports are found articles such as indigo and opium, which must be coming to this place from a long distance island. Among the imports, besides many European commodities, horses

from Mecca, Aden and Ormuz came to the port for sale.

Besides the Arabs and the local Muslims, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English also had commercial contacts with Chaul. A Dutch document of 1620 mentions that the Portuguese carried on a large amount of trade in textiles and other goods with Mocha in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Ships used to leave Chaul for the Red Sea at the end of September and the beginning of October. Malik Ambar, the Wazir of Ahmednagar, sent two ships from Chaul to Mocha in 1621.[472] In the same year, the Dutch factors seized a ship of Nawab Asaf Khan of Chaul carrying a freight cargo. But the Dutch Company found that this action was against the interest of its trade, and ordered that the Nawab's claim for a sum of Rs.13,225 should be met in full, as he was an important person. As the Dutch and the English, who had their factories at Surat, were frequently capturing the ships from Chaul and ' Dabhol, the native rulers prevented them from trading at Ahmedabad, Broach and Agra. In fact, the Dutch had adopted a resolution to attack ships from Chaul and Dabhol if it could be done without prejudice to the interests of the Dutch Company. The English ships from Surat used to go to Chaul to pick up the indigenous freight cargo for Mocha. The envoy of Chaul had gone to Surat suggest to the Dutch to make peace with them like the English.[473] All these references suggest the importance of Chaul as a trading centre, in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The volume of trade, the interest of foreigners involved and the growth of manufactures indicate that Chaul had been a populous town in the 16th-17th centuries. The English despatch of August, 20, 1674 mentions, 'The town of Chaul where the silks were made, by an unhappy fire, is almost destroyed; above 3000 houses being burnt to the ground, many of the inhabitants whereof are come hither (that is, Bombay), and more would come daily, if we had houses for them'.[474] Henry Oxinden says, 'Upper Chaule,

a towne belonging to the Rajah, about two miles distant from the Portugal Citty, and was in former times a great mart for all sort Deccan commodities, but now totally ruined by the warres betwixt the Mogul and Sevajee, whose armies have plundered and lade it waste'.[475] The great fire and the constant warefare must have reduced this once populous city into insignificance by the last quarter of the 17th century.

When Barbosa visited Chaul, its houses had thatched roofs. 'The natives of the country use much of the Calico and are clad therein, wearing it unbleached. After it has been worn they bleach it making it very white and starching it, and in this state they sell it in many regions, and on this account it is often found torn, also, after it has been worn they make cloaks of it joining two pieces together and dyeing them with good dyes, and thus they wear them, thrown over their shoulders like capes, as their fashion, with a piece of muslim on their heads.'[476]

Varthema, who visited Chaul before 1510, found a pagan king in Chaul. He writes, 'The people are of a dark tawny colour. As to their dress, with the exception of some Moorish merchants, some wear shirt, and some go naked with a cloth round their middie, with nothing on their feet or head. The people are warlike; their arms are swords, bucklers, bows and spears made of reeds and wood, and they possess artillery. The city is extremely welled and is distant from the sea two miles. It possesse an extremely beautiful river (that is, Kundalika), by which great number of foreign vessels go and return, because the country abounds in everything excepting grapes, nuts and chestnuts. There are in this city a very great number of Moorish merchants. The atmosphere begins here to be more warm than cold. Justice is extremely well administered here.The king has not many fighting men. The inhabitants here have horses, oxen, and cows in great abundance.'[477] Linschoten found the climate wholesome

and temperate and was the 'soundest and healthy part of all India'.[478]

Upper (Muslim) and lower (Portuguese) Chaul were connected by a long shady street in the 17th century. Upper Chaul was in a ruinous condition in the last quarter of the century. The condition of lower Chaul was also no better. Thomas Niccolls, the English envoy who was in that area on June 9, 1673 gives a graphic account of the city. "This city or Citdell rather, is built circular, the whole being encompassed with 9 bastions, but most angular, with but few ordinance, but are said to be very good. It is also entrenched as far as they durst for fear the sea breakes in within, it has been furnished with fair buildings but now 2/3 parts thereof are ruinous and the rest hardly two families in a street. Whither occasioned by the unhealthiness of the place or that they are removed I know not, so that at present there are none but a few soliders, except ecclesiastick. Within the walls are 6 churches viz. St. Domingo, St. Fransico, St. Augustino, St. Paul, Misericordia and De Say. Without the walls are four, viz. St. Sebastiano, St. Joan De Merce and De Madre De Dios, and one, over the river called Nos Seignora De Marr.'[479]

Socio-Religious Life

Chaul, both under the Muslims and the Portuguese, had a mixed society. The Hindus were the natives of Chaul and, in spite of the political changes, their social life remained practically unaffected, with some exceptions caused by the intervention of the Portuguese in their religious practices. The Marathi chronicle says that when the Portuguese captured parts of Konkan by defeating the Muslims, they did not interfere with social or religious life of the Hindus. They restored the *watans* to the legitimate holders, allowed people to practise their religion. But after a period of twenty-five years, they threatened the people that if they did not accept their religion, that is, Christianity,

they would be sent as prisoners to Goa. As a result, some people left Konkan and others were perforce converted to Christianity.[480]

A few Marathi documents of the Adhikari family of Chaul have been made available to us by the late Shantaram Vishnu Avalaskar, a noteworthy historian of the Konkan. With the help of these and other sources, an attempt has been made to reconstruct a few aspects of the society of medieval Chaul.

The Adhikaris

The Adhikaris of Chaul belonged to the Panchkalshi Mali or Panchkulvamshi Khastriya caste, subcaste among Hindus. They were holding an important office since 1500. The main job of the Adhikaris was to register in their books all records pertaining to Chaul. They, therefore, collected a variety of documents in their family archives. But only a part of these has survived. We have been able to have access to these due to the efforts of researchers like Y. R.Gupte of Pune, Shankarrao Deo of Dhule and S. V. Avalaskar of Alibag, and still fewer have been published so far. If the entire lot of the Adhikari archives were available to the scholars, much light would have been thrown on the coastal society, economy and maritime activities.

As *watandars* of the village communities, the Adhikaris enjoyed a number of fiscal benefits and other privileges. For instance, if, among the residents of Chaul, a person was convicted of adultery, the Adhikari was to get a *shela (scarf)* from the convict, in addition to the fine paid to the government, the penance charges called *devadanda*, perhaps paid to those who were in charge of the village temples.

A person polluted by dining with members of the prohibited community was made to pay a scarf to the Adhikari besides undergoing all penances prescribed by the scriptures or the customs of his (caste) like pilgrimages

or charities *(dharma)* in proportion to his crime.

The approved adoption ceremony also brought to the Adhikaris the present of a scarf. Whenever there was a marriage or any auspicious ceremony in a family, the Adhikari was entitled to receive betel leaves, perfumes, scarf or a coconut as a substitute from the party concerned, *Deepavali, Holi, or Shimga* and *Padva* were the major Hindu ceremonies of the village, when the Adhikaris were honoured with presents. The merchants of the market (mohatarfa) and the professional musicians (vajantri) could not escape payment of haks (privileges) to the Adhikaris.[481]

The Shetes

Chaul being an important commercial mart, the shetes or the officers in charge of the market occupied a prominent position in the social life as well.They were regarded as *nagarshetes*. One Dharmaji Gambirnao Shete, pleaded before the deshakas (members of the village council) in 1600 A. D. that his ancestors were enjoying a number of privileges from antiquity and that those should be kept undisturbed. A scraf at marriage in any family, a *lari* (a silver coin) on the birth of a male child; feast and a *lari* from each house in Chaul every year; payments of a *lari* or half *lari* from village atisans like barber, tailor, carpenter, goldsmith, blacksmith, mason and painter, in lieu of feast, and some payment from the merchants of the market, were some of the privileges enjoyed by the shete. He was also honoured by being allowed to enjoy the rights of umbrella (*chhatri*), torch (*divati*), lance (*neja*), slave (*nafar*), attendants (*chakar*) and horse. As the chief of his own caste council, he used to receive fees for his services. The cases of adultery and lack of male issue (niputrika) fetched him some money. No ordeal (*divya*) could be perfomed without his permission. As a member of the village council, he had an important position in the activities of the village. It was mentioned in

the agreement made with the *shetes* that any violation of these practices should be deal with seriously. The person who disobeyed the *shete* or became unmindful of his rights, was either given capital punishment or was chained.[482]

The Brahmans

The *brahmans* received grants and concessions from the people for their maintenance. In every village there used to be a joshi or village astrologer. He was a member of the village *baluta* (village servants) system, and the change in political power did not disturb the functioning of the village. He rendered various religious services to his clients and also read *panchang* or almanac for them. Almanac reading on New Year day seems to be an important event in the village as all the *brahmanas* moved in procession (*dindi*) with the almanac, perhaps placed in a palanquin, on that day.[483]

However, sometimes a point of order was raised as to whom the joshi should read the *panchang* first - the *zamindars* (landlords) or the officials of the government. It was a matter of prestige in Chaul. In 1701 the Mughal *havaldar* collected *masala*, a pecuniary imposition, from the joshis for reading the almanac first to *zamindars*. An appeal was made jointly by the joshis and the *zamindars* to the *faujdar* that this was an old practice which remained unchanged in spite of the changes in government.This argument was accepted by the faujdar and the *masala* was refunded with instructions to the officials to follow the old practice in this respect.[484] The village communities considered the *desh-satta* (village authority) as permanent and the *diwan-satta* (govemment authority) as transitory.

The joshis were entitled to charge fees for the religious services rendered by them to the village commnunities on such occasions as marriage, thread ceremony, and installation of Lord Ganesh. At one stage the joshis almost

doubled their fees, and the people appealed to the government for the restoration of the old rates. The *majalis* (council) discussed this matter and gave its verdict in favour of the old rates; it further stated that if the joshis refused to follow this order they would not only be punished but be deprived of their *vritti* (religious grant).[485]

It was customary during this period to donate cows to the *brahmanas.* But cattle was a taxable commodity, and hence a letter of exemption was issued along with the gift. The Peshwa of Shivaji wrote to the *subhedar* and other officers of Chaul in 1676 that he had sent sixteen cows that had born once *(pot phodia)* and were of the same quality; they should be delivered to four brahmanas mentioned in the letter equally as *dharmadaya* - a religious grant, and no tax be collected from them.[486] Yesaji Vishnu Bhat Manohar of Chaul, a brahmana learned in the Vedas, was to get one khandi rice every year during his lifetime. The *subhedar* was also asked to make regular enquiries about the well-being of the *Vedmurti* (the learned *brahmana*). He was also given four cows which were exempted from taxes.[487]

Chaul had two families of the *joshis* - Agarkar and Belavkar. When it came under Kanhoji Angre, he called all the *joshis* and asked them to reduce to writing the *vritti* and *the Privileges enjoyed by them in chaul. The two joshi* families divided among themselves the various religious services to be rendered to different families and took the necessary fees from them.[488]

Religion

Chaul had a mixed population of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The rulers followed a policy of religious toleration and did not interfere with the religious practices of the Hindus. For instance, there were some *sati* stones and temples of the Hindus in Chaul which were visited and worshipped by the Hindus from various places. The

Hindus, in return, wished well of the rulers who had enjoined the *karkuns, havaldars* and others to follow the policy laid down by Malik Ambar in the religious matters of the Hindus.[489]

Coconut-Day (*narali paurnima*) was an important ceremony in Konkan. A big procession was arranged and coconut was ceremoniously thrown into the sea. The people of Chaul traditionally used to go in a procession for performing this function to Revadanda, which as mentioned above, eventually passed into the hands of the Portuguese. The *faujdar* of Chaul used to send a message to the Portuguese captain at Revadanda that the procession carrying coconut would reach his area soon, and therefore, he should direct his ryots to clear the path by cutting trees and bushes. The money required for the celebration of the coconut-day was raised from the merchants and ryots, and was spent in such a way that the dignity and prestige of the people of Chaul would be maintained. About 100 to 125 artificial coconut trees decorated with silk tassel were made and presented to certain officers, including the Portuguese captain of Revadanda. He was expected to return the honour with betel leaves and an *inam* (reward) of five rupees.[490] This practice was discontinued for sometime as the Portuguese once killed the messenger of the faujdar carrying the news of the coconut-day festival.[491]

The Portuguese

As the Portuguese, popularly known as *phirangis*, were quite close to Chaul, the bands of firangi free-booters often carried inroads into Chaul and destroyed cultivated lands, burnt houses, plundered shops, and took away people as slaves.

These inroads of the *phirangis* disturbed cultivation; and the ryots consequently could not comply with the demands of the state for land revenue. As a result, they

deserted Chaul and migrated to distant places.[492]

The *phirangis* too had acquired some land in Chaul, but they did not pay revenue to the government. The native government of Chaul, however, had forbidden the Portuguese to possess any immovable property. A person selling land to a phirangi had to undergo severe punishment including death. In a dispute regarding the *joshi watan* of Chaul, it was found during the course of investigation that one of the parties to the dispute - Dada Vartak had violated this order by selling a part of his land to a *phirangi* without prior sanction of the government. After his crime was established he was sentenced to death.[493]

The Portuguese imposed various restrictions on the religious practices of the natives. Hindus were forbidden to build temples. The Muslims were not allowed to build mosques. The presence of a Portuguese Officer at every marriage, as witness, was made compulsory. No Hindu was allowed to perform any ritual at home. And, if it was detected his house was plundered and he was sent to Goa for a period of two to three years as punishment. No enclosed case for an idol (*devahara*) was kept in homes, and no worship was offered on auspicious days. No platform for *Tulsi* plant could be raised and workshipped in any home. When a person died leaving behind only a minor son without any near relations, except the boy's mother, he was to be converted to Christianity.

When the Portuguese territory passed into the hands of the Marathas in the 18th century, the residents of Revadanda appealed to Peshwa Bajire I to undo the work of the Portuguese and enhance the prestige of *Maharashtra Dharma*. A treaty concluded with the Portuguesein 1740 enjoined upon the Portuguese to continue *Maharshtra Dharma* in their territories.[494]

Purification

To counteract the effects of the religious policy of the Portuguese, the Marathas started the purification movement. However, it seems that the local people generally were not prepared then for such a reform as it involved several social problems. In this respect the petititon of the Pathare Panch Kalshe community of Konkan in 1735, deserves some mention. It says that in the past, the *phirangis* with a view to including a few Pathare Panch Kalshe, to their religion. How long they remained Christians was not known, but a few of them later on returned to their original place and occupied houses in a good locality, and started urging the leaders of their community to purify them and readmit them into their original religion and community, for which they were prepared to bear all costs. This request was turned down by the community, but it was entertained by the Maratha government, and the Chhatrapati issued an order for purification. The leaders of the community approached the Chhatrapati and apprised him of the social problems involved in purification. According to them a new convert could be admitted without any difficulty, but where generations had passed, *anuloma* and *pratiloma* types of marriage had taken place, where even their names had changed, it would be disgraceful to the community to admit such persons.[495] Since the caste councils (*dnyati satta*) were more powerful than the government, the government could not set aside the views of the leaders of the community and desisted from forcing them to accept the polluted people.[496]

A person was considered to have been polluted even by dining with a person of another religion. But the rules of the caste council were not observed always. Ramaji Kamat, a resident of Bombay, brought a few such cases to the notice of the Desai, Desh Kulkarni, and the Adhikari of Chaul, and urged upon them to enforce strict observance

of the rules of caste which should not be treated as insignificant (*tiltulya*). A gosavi in Chaul was readmitting the polluted people to Hindu religion, perhaps accepting some bribes. It was urged that a person should be readmitted or rejected by a majority vote of the community, and the mischievous gosavi be punished.[497]

Vethbegar

Vethbegar or forced labour, an oppressive feudal practice, was prevailing in Chaul as well. It was collected either in the form of physical labour or in cash in lieu of labour and at times in both forms To escape from *vethbegar* some ryots fled to Revadanda, the Portuguese Chaul, letting their lands remain uncultivated.[498] As the *faujdar* was more interested in cultivation, an order was issued that the *vethbegar* should be collected according to the old practice and people should not suffer on this account. However, the local administration continued to requisition the services of the ryots for repairing, fortifying or building forts, without making any payment. The ryots did not bother much about the payment for their services but their lands lying fallow as a consequence of this was galling to them. The Muslim rulers had exempted them from *vethbegar* considering cultivation as more important. When Chaul was captured by the Marathas in 1670-71, the old practice of carrying people to the fort for *vethbegar* was revived. An appeal was made to the new government by the ryots, to abolish the system of *vethbegar* for the sake of the prosperity of this. region.The Maratha government promised them that this system would be abolished as soon as constant fighting ceased and normalcy was restored.[499] Orders, however were issued that the ryots should not suffer on account of *vethbegar*.[500] Yet *Vethbegar* often exploited the services of *vadvals* (a tribal community) and *anadis* (non-experts) cultivating the irrigated or nonirrigated land. This caused interruption in

cultivation, watering and manuring of trees and the enclosing of the orchards. The Maratha *subhedar* finally issued an order in 1685 asking his officers not to make ryots suffer for *vethbegar*, and allow them to carry on their routine agricultural work undisturbed.[501]

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442 Situated in 8 .33' N. Lat. and 72'.59 E. Long. Chaul is about 30 miles south-east of Bombay. It is in Alibag *taluka* of Raigad district of Maharashtra and situated on the mouth of the river Kundalika on the west coast. Hobson Jobson gives a chronological account of Chaul and its various forms used by different persons in the course of time. Its various names that are found in old texts are Chenwal, Tesinwal, Saimur and Jaimur. Chaul, according to tradition, is older than Swally, Bassein and Bombay, the famous medieval seaports. Dr. Burgess's identification of Chaul with Chembur on the island lying to the east of the island of Bombay, does not seem to be correct. In modern times Chaul is identified with Revadanda in Kolaba (new Raigad) district of Bombay.

The antiquity of Chaul goes back to the first century A. D. as it is referred to in the Periplus. By the 10th century it was a part-of the province of Lat Desh, that is Gujarat, and had a large population of Muslims - about 10,000, comprising among others, the natives of Siraj, Oman, Basrah, Baghdad and the local people born of mixed marriage.

A German scholar Ms Gritli Mitter Wallner has-made a good study of Chaul in Chaul eine unerforschte Stadt an der estkuste indiens, Berlin 1964.

443 V. K. Rajwade (ed.), Mahikarvatichi Bakhar, Poona 1924; and R.C. Dhere (ed)., Mahikavatichi Bakhar, Poona 1973.

444 M. L. Dames (ed), The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Society, London 1967 I, 159 fn.

445 ibid., 160 fn.

446 V. K. Rajwade (ed.), Mahikavatichi Bakhar, text, 42

447 ibid., 103.

448 H. K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), History of Medieval Deccan, Hyderabad 1973, I, 219.

449 R. S. Whiteway, The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, Westminster 1899, 117.

450 ibid., 157

451 ibid., 190.

452 ibid., 194-5

453 H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), History of Medieval Deccan, 234. After the capture of Goa in 1510 the Portuguese were gradually strengthening their position on the west coast. The viceroy of Goa, Dom Luis de Ataide, foresaw the danger of Mughal expansion in the Deccan and made effort to win the support of

the Rajputs and the petty Maratha lords against the Mughals and Nizamshahis of Ahmednagar. Chaul was besieged by the Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar in 1570-71. Chaul then was not fully prepared for an attack from such a strong enemy. The captain of the town depending entirely upon the three hundred soldiers from the garrison, started fortification by constructing walls bastions and batteries. The strength of the Portuguese was in their infantry which was fully equipped-with muskets. There was fierce fighting everyday, and the Portugueses, with minimum loss, defeated the Nizam Shah. Murtaza Nizam Shah retreated in defeat, negotiated a ceasefire, and peace treaty was signed in July 1571.

For a detailed account of this see R. O. W. Geortz, 'Attack and Defence Techniques in the Siege of Chaul, 1570-71,' in II Seminario International De Historia Indo-Portuguesa, Lisbon 1985.

454 ibid, 256

455 T. R. de Souza, Medieval Goa, Delhi 1979 30- 1.

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458 B. G. Paranjape (ed.), English Records on Shivaji, Pune 1931, I. 42.

459 ibid., 1.87.

460 ibid., I. 128.

461 ibid., I. 359, 370.

462 P. S. Pissurlencar, Portuguese -Maratha Sambandha, 93-5; 103.

463 P. S. Pissurlencar, Portuguese -Maratha Sambandha, 93-5; 103.

464 ibid., 151, 182, 204, 205.

465 M. L. Dames (ed.), The Book of Duarte Barbasa, 161.

466 Varthema, The Itinerary of Ludovice de Varthema (hereafter the Itinerary), London 1928, 47

467 Linschoten, The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies (hereafter The Voyage), London 1854, I, 63-4.

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469 Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, I, Part II. Rev. Alexander Kyd Narine gives a fine account of the History of Konkan (ed.Campbell), Bombay 1896.

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471 Varthema, The Itinerary, 47.

472 Om Prakash (ed.), The Dutch Factories in India (1617-23), Delhi 1984, 124, 140, 162.

473 ibid., 17, 193, 210, 221, 246

474 B. E.G. Paranjape (ed.), English Records on Shivaji, II 8.

475 ibid., I. 370.

476 M. L. Dames (ed.), The Book of Duarte Barbosa, 159,161.

477 Varthema, The Itinerary, 47-8

478 Linschoten, The Voyage, 64

479 B. G. Paranjape (ed.), The English Records on Shivaji, I. 256.

480 V. K. Rajwade (ed.), Mahikavatichi, Bakhar, 104.

481 S.V. Avalaskar (ed.), Angrekalin Patravyavahar (hereafter, AP) Pune 1948, 17, 22.

482 S. V. Avalaskar (ed.), Shiva Charitra Sahitya (hereefter, SCS), Pune 1944, IX. l6.

483 S. V. Avalaskar (ed.). AP, 28

484 ibid. 21; Avalaskar, SCS, X. 52

485 S.V. Avalaskar, SCS, IX, 2-5, of the year A. D. 1564

486 ibid., IX, 54

487 ibid., IX, 60.

488 S. V. Avalaskar AP, 27-9.

489 S. V. Avalaskar, SCS, IX, 40 of the year A. D.1627.

490 S. V. Avalaskar, AP, 2-3

491 Ibid., 20

492 S. V. Avalaskar, SCS, IX, 10 (dated 1587), 13 (dated 1596), 19 (dated 1607) 23 (dated 1607)

493 Ibid., IX. 4 (dated 1564)

494 S. V. Avalaskar, AP 16; Pissurlencar, Portuguese Maratha Sambandha, 202. Maharashtra Dharma was first mentioned in Mahikavatichi Bakkar composed in A. D.1448. Gurucharitra, a treatise on Bhakti cult, written around 1558, also mentions it. Ramdas, a contemporary of Shivaji was using this term by 1648. It has been interpreted in different ways by scholars. Justice M. G. Ranade and Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat define it as the 'religion of Maharashtra'. Rajwade, on the other hand, considers it as a comprehensive term including religion of the country caste, family, race, gods, etc. to comprehend the way of life of the people of Maharashtra: see Mahikavatichi Bakkar, 107-9.

495 Anuloma means marriage between a high-caste man and a low-caste woman, and pratiloma is marriage between a low-caste man and a high caste woman.

496 S. V. Avalaskar, AP. 40-1

497 S. V. Avalskar, SCS, IX, 86-8.

498 ibid, 23.

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11

MALWAN PORT-TOWN PAST AND PRESENT

(A socio-economic study)

Geographical set-up

The Maratha country is fortunate in having a long coastal line, covering a distance of about 720 kms. from Daman in the north to Bhatkal in the south of the west coast. Unlike other coasts of India, the west coast has numerous small inlets.[502]

One of the natural divisions of Maharashtra comprising the coastal low land is the Konkan, the other two being the Maharashtra plateau, called the *Desh* and the western Ghat. The Konkan low land is not plain though it has some of the features of a plain of marine erosion. The low land 330 miles long and 30-50 miles broad is much broken, by hills, some of considerable extent and elevation.

It is sub-divided into northern Konkan comprising the modern Thane and Raigad (the old Kolaba) districts and southern Konkan comprising the Ratnagiri and Sindhudurga districts in which there are no coastal plains as one finds in the North Konkan.

Malwan belongs to the South Konkan dominated by the laterite landscape, making the region agriculturally unproductive. Paddy, the staple crop of this region was grown in the narrow riverine plains of the valleys and the mango orchards are planted on the slopes of the valley side. The Amba, the Kundalika, the Savitri, the Vashisti,

and the Gad are the principal rivers of the South Konkan but their course is not longer than 100 kms, and in spite of heavy rainfall, the rivers run dry after the rainfall as the rain water is easily and most expeditiously disposed off to the sea. The riverine plains are narrow and the cultivation is limited to the narrow riverside terraces of about 50 kms and the coastal plains near the river mouths. This natural phenomenon speaks for the hard life and proverbial poverty of the people of Konkan.[503]

The present Malwan District, known as Sindhudurg, came into being only on 1st May 1981. The old Ratnagiri District of which Malwan was a taluqa, had become too big, particularly after the merger of the erstwhile princely state of Sawantwadi in it in 1949. It was, therefore. split, up into two parts and designated as Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg Districts.

The Sindhudurg district comprising seven taluqs has the boundaries of the Ratnagiri district to its north, Kolhapur district and a part of Karnatak State to its east, the state of Goa to its south, and a long strip of Arabian sea, to its west. Its principal ports are Devgad, Malwan and Vengurla; all the seven taluqs and also parts of the Ratnagiri district and Karnatak State form its hinterland.

Historical back drop

Konkan, also called *Aparanta*, the land of Parshuram has a long history. Its long coast-line played a major role in shaping its history and its social and economic life. The early settlers of Konkan came mainly by sea-route, as travel by sea was not prohibited at least upto the 13th century. The Buddhist monks during the period of Ashoka 273-236 BC penetrated into this area, and their remarkable cave temples in this region bear an eloquent testimony to their influence on Konkan. The descendants of the immigrants of the Parsis, the Jews (Bene Israelis), the Abyssinians (Habshis or Siddis as they are known in

Konkan) and probably, the Arabs can be found here. The European powers like the Portuguese, the English, the Dutch and the French started their early commercial activities on the West Coast from the 15th Century. The region in parts was ruled by the Mauryas, the Shilaharas, the Muslims, the Portuguese, the Mughals and the Marathas in the long course of its history. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha kingdom had his capital - the Fort Raigad - in the Konkan. The Peshwas, who dominated the 18th century of Indian history, and who considered themselves as the descentants of Parshuram, hailed from the Konkan. This historic background shaped the character of the people of Konkan, who were certainly different from the other parts of the Maratha country, in their way of life, language and literature. It was perhaps due to this distinct culture of Konkan, particularly of the South Konkan, that the people of the region did not whole-heartedly join the 'Maratha movement' of the 17th century. We often find them in league with the Portuguese or the Mughals in their conflict with the Marathas of the Desh region.

The port-town of Malwan, which is also referred to as Melundi, came to prominence in the 17th century with the rise of Maratha power. Earlier it was notorious for the depradations of the pirates, who were known to the British as *Malwans*, on the coast.[504] Piracy prevailed, it is claimed, to an extent before unknown on the coast, which induced the English to send an expedition in 1765 to reduce Malwan.

Malwan was a well fortified harbour. Besides the fort of Sindhudurg, it contains the forts of Rajkot and Sarjekot on the mouth of the creek, and Padamgad or Pandavgad opposite the main fort.[505] The Portuguese ships sailing from the North Province, Bassein to Goa had to pass through the Maratha territory at Malwan where the Marathas, occasionally demanded *dastaks* or permits from their captains; but they used to maintain that they were exempted from these formalities by the earlier treaties of

friendship between the two powers.

The Portuguese in the past claimed supremacy over the Indian Ocean and demanded that all the coastal powers, Indian and non-Indian, should get cartazes from them for plying their ships on the Indian Ocean. Shivaji, the Maratha king, however, not only refused to request for obtaining the cartazes, but also insisted that they should seek his permission while passing through his territory and the officers in charge of the checking stations of the ports were instructed to follow this rule strictly. He carried his first naval expedition from Malwan against Shivappa Naik of Basrur in 1665 who was supported by the Dutch and the Portuguese.[506]

Malwan was under the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur since 1713. The Portuguese complained that the naval and civil officers of the Marathas at Malwan always treated them roughly. It was the contention of the Portuguese that their ships sailing from Bassein towards Goa, passing through Malwan, need not obtain *dastaks* from the Marathas, according to the terms of treaties between the two powers. Yet the Maratha Subhedars and Havaldars stopped their ships, arrested and plundered the travellers, and treated them badly. This Maratha act was regarded as a revolution against the Portuguese.[507]

The Maratha-Portuguese dispute over the *dastaks* continued for a long time and ultimately led to a war between the two in 1763 when the Marathas captured a Portuguese merchantship sailing from Africa to Goa, and refused to restore it to them when demanded. In the fierce contest, which lasted hardly for a week, the Portuguese succeeded with minimum losses.[508]

The Sindhudurg fort was captured by the British in 1765 from the State of Kolhapur. However, the State was constantly making efforts to regain it from them.[509] The conquest of Malwan was the result of a wanton aggression made by the joint command of Major Gordon and Captain

John Watson of the Bombay Marine. The fort was renamed as Fort Augustus, with an intention to keep it, but the acquisition being unprofitable, they proposed to destroy the works. However this plan was also abandoned as it was too expensive.[510] The British, therefore, willingly accepted the offer of the Kolhapur State of getting it back from them, and a Treaty to that effect was concluded in 1766. This Treaty was favourable to the British as it promised them 'not to molest their ships or trade, to give security for the future good conduct, and to indemnify them for losses and expenses."[511]

Malwan was evacuated by them in May, 1766 and it remained politically undisturbed for nearly 25 years after theTreaty. However, the internal feuds compelled the British, to fight for Malwan against the Poona Government of the Peshwa and establish their control over it.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Resident at Poona, exploited the disturbed political situation in Western Maharashtra and forced the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur to cede Malwan to the Company by a Treaty concluded between them in October, 1812. This treaty practically put an end forever to the political power of the Marathas on the Westcoast.[512] Malwan then remained with the British till the transfer of power from the British to Indians in 1947.

Social Stratification : The geographical set-up as well as the course of its history has naturally influenced the structure of the society in coastal villages. On the basis of the statistics for the Ratnagiri District for the year 1872, the population of the District can be classified under various or groups based on castes and professions which existed in this part of the Konkan.

The *brahmaas*, numerically less but socially more influential, were subdivided into eight sub-castes of which the *Chitpavans* and the *Shenavis* were more dominant. The *Shenavis* or *Saraswats*, do not append the suffix *'brahman'* these days. The *Kayastha Prabhu* families were

limited in number and they were mostly engaged in the clerical professions in the British Company or government.

A report of 1812 by Mr. L. Smith on the general state of Malwan and Vengurla, which were by then ceded to the East India Company, gives some details about the population, of the six sub-castes of Brahmans residing at these two places. They were *Chitpavan, Karhada, Sastekar, Shenvi, Kudadeskar and Bardeskar brahmans*, and their total strength was as below

Houses	Men	Women	Childeren	Total
103	141	182	173	496

The *Karhada* brahmans in Konkan area acted as priests or *upadhyas* of the village Communities.[513]

The trading community of this region comprising six classes, included *Vanis, Jains, Lingayats, Gujaras, Bhatias* and *Marwadis*. The last three classes must have come long back as traders and shopkeepers into this area and settled down here permanently. In this group, the Vani class, the local traders seem to be a dominating group. In the Malwan region there were 30 houses of *Vanis* with a population of 62 in 1812.[514] The *Rajpoots* and *Gujars* are clubbed together in the census of 1812, and the number of houses together is shown as 3 and the number of persons is 8 only of which 4 are males, 2 females and 2 children. It may be noted here that in the entire Ratnagiri District, there were 5 Marwadis and 3 *Gujars* in 1872. But there was no *Marwadi* family in the Malwan area in 1812. In no other class except the *Gujars* and the *Marwadis* such a low number of females i.e. 50% is found in this area. The *Rajputs* were, according to the census of 1872, the messengers and constables of the region and the *Gujars* may be wholesale dealers suppling articles to the *Vanis*, the retail shop-keepers of the villages. There are four houses of *Lingayats* who were also traders, and only four

families of them consisting of 21 persons were residing in the Malwan area. These Lingayats must have come mainy from the neighbouring Karnatak region for trading purposes."

The census of 1872 puts nine classes under the broad division-'cultivators.'[515] These were *Kunbis, marathas, bhandaris, jhindes, malis, bharjans, ghadi, meet-gavadas* and *gavadas*. The kunbis were the actual tillers of the land, and most of the Marathas, a caste slightly higher in social status than the kunbis were also cultivators. The *bhandaris* are mainly found in the coastal society. Besides cultivating land, they also worked as fighting men of the pirates, as piracy was practised on the coast on an appreciable scale in the 17th and 18th centuries, but it practically came to an end when the British became the masters of the West Coast in the 19th century. There are four sub-divisions of this caste : *kitte, more, guad* and *shinde*. Earlier this community was perhaps acting as guards of the royal treasury - the *bhandar*, and they must have assumed this name *bhandari* for their services as guards. They were rated as shudras or inferior caste-people. From the statistics' of 1812, it will be seen that among the class of cultivators, numerically, *bhandaris* was the biggest group. There were 347 houses of *bhandaris* having a population ot 1423 persons of which males 423, females 578 and 422 children. *Shindes*, it is said, were the descendents of the female slaves, also known as *Kunbinis*, of the zamindars or the influential persons of the village. The *Chedvas* of Goa also fall in the same class. The *shindes* though originally illegitimate must have acquired higher social status equivalent to that of the Marathas in the course of time. The other class mentioned as Farjan seems to be the corrupt form of the Persian term farjand i.e. illegitimate son-equivalent to Marathi terms *dasiputra* (son of a slave woman) or *lekavala* (illegitimate progeny). *Farjand* in Marathi is specifically used for the illegimate progeny, In Marathi documents a distinction has been made between

lekare (legitimate progeny) and *farjand*.[516] Besides, in the census of 1872 *farjands* and *shindes* were shown together and not separately as in the case of other castes.

Ghadid seems to be the anglisized word used for *gadi*, which means a labourer. In Marathi *Gavada* is a sub-caste of the Kunbis in Konkan; the *meet-gavadas* are those who are engaged in salt-manufacturing, *malis* are the gardeners. The cultivators' population in Malwan area in 1812 seems to be 2519, which include Marathas, *Bhandaris* and *Gondees* (seems to be the corrupt form of *gavada*)

The next group of 1872 census was that of the manufacturers comprising *Telis* (oil pressers and vendors) *Kostis, Salis and Sangars,* the last three belong to the same caste. Sangars are the weavers of coarse woollens and may be equated with the dhangars, the blanket-weavers. The number of *telis* is comparatively bigger among the class of village servants, in the Malwan region. There were 20 houses of the telis with 30 males, 40 females and 30 children. It may be due to the availability of coconuts on a large scale from which oil was extracted for domestic use and exports.

The next group is designated as 'artisans', and among the twelve classes mentioned under it, *sutars* (carpenters), *Sonars* (goldsmiths) and *lohars* (blacksmiths) are very important. Besides, agriculture the services of carpenters and blacksmiths were required for the ship-building industry of the Konkan. The goldsmiths were required mainly for assaying the coins received from merchants of different nationalities trading with Konkan. The statistics of the Malwan region (1812) shows 10 houses of carpenters, with 45 members, and 26 houses of goldsmiths with 216 members. It also mentions a class of *kasars* or *coppersmiths* which had 7 houses with 22 members. Their services were utilized for making copper utensils.

One of the features of the social structure of the village

communities was the class of *village servants*, called *balutedars*. They were usually twelve in number and hence in Marathi the term used is *barabalute*, even though the actual number may be less or more. They rendered all sorts of services to the village communities throughout the year in return for a share called *baluta* of agricultural produce collected in kind at the time of harvest. The classes of potmakers, carpenters, barbers, blacksmiths, washermen, temple dancers (*kalawantins*), temple priests (*guravs*), priests (*joshis*), mahars, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, cobblers, etc. are the members of the village communities participating in all social and economic functions, including the administration of justice at village level as a matter of right. This *baluta* system prevailed throughout the Maratha country in the pre-colonial period and it continued even under the Biritish as it was most essential to the village communities. Most of these classes were found in the Malwan region but almost all in the District of Ratnagiri as one can see in the analysis of the 1872 census referred to earlier.

The institution of *Bhavin* and *Devli* is a characteristic feature of the Konkan society. They were the off-springs of the female servants of the petty chiefs or zamindars and are found mainly in the port towns of Vengurla, Malwan amd Devgad. *Bhavin* is a female and *Devli* is a male offspring of this illegitimate union of the master and the slave girl. They also received a piece of land from the master and are generally dedicated to the service of the village deities. One of the girls of the Bhavin is dedicated to the services of the village temple when she comes of age and undergoes a dedication ceremony in which the oil from the temple lamp is poured on her head. The rest of the girls are free to practise prostitution at the port towns. This explains a large number of houses of the bhavins in the Malwan region. There were 26 houses of *bhavins* with 33 males, 43 femals and 40 children of both sexes. *Devlis* earned their living as servants of the village temples,

drummers and actors. *Kalawantin* whose main profession was dancing is differentiated from the bhavin. If a *kalawantin* was attached to a temple of the village for performing dance and vocal music at the time of festivals or worships of the temple, she was even endowed with a land grant from the village and was treated, on the same footing as full-fledged members of the society. There were 14 houses of kalavantins in the Malwan region in which there were only 2 males, 15 females and 17 children, according to the report of 1812. Some of them who were not attached to the temples might be indulging in prostitution.

The minority communities were the Christians and Muslims. There were more Christian houses than of the Muslim, because of the religious activities of the Portuguese in the Konkan region. In 1812, the Malwan region had 14 houses of Christians and only five of Muslims. In the Muslim Commanity of Konkan, one finds a strong blending of both Arab and Persion blood. The Arabs came to the West coast even before the advent of Islam. By the 10th century they settled in large numbers in Konkan and married the women of the country. They belong to the four groups of Muslims namely, the Syeds, the Sheikhs, the Mughals and the Pathans. There are two main divisions of Konkani Muslims: *jamatis* and *daldis*, the former are pure Muslims, whereas the *daldis* are converted Hindus probably from the *koli* community and from the descendants of the immigrants and slave girls. Daldis are coast fishers. The Muslims were mainly associated with the services on the ships. Shivaji's Chief admiral was a Muslim. Christians were also involved in shipping and fishing. In the Ratnagiri district, there were four Parsi families who were mostly concerned with the shipbuilding industry located in some of the ports like Malwan, Ratnagiri, Jaytapur and Vengurla.

Thus in the Malwan region in 1812 when the British took it over from the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur, the number

of persons living in 1137 houses was 4846 of which 1492 were males, 1840 females and 1514 were children. The population of the entire district of Ratnagiri in 1872 was 88185 of which the share of the Malwan region was only 4846. According to the census report of 1981 the population of Ratnagiri district was 2,111,321 and of Malwan alone was 17,328 only. With the coming of the British and particularly the disappearance of commercial activities from the Malwan harbour, the pattern of society changed and new elements were introduced into it after Independence.[517] If one examines carefully the sex ratio, one finds that the female number has always superseded, the males. The following table will establish this fact.

	1872	1901	1911	1931	1981
Male	3,21,989	6,54,497	5,53,382	6,09,309	9,43,395
Female	3,65,129	7,12,577	6,50,250	6,93,218	11,67,916

This disparity may be attributed to the lack of avenues of employment in the Konkan. The pressure on land, mostly barren, is increasing and males have to migrate to Bombay or other urban areas in search of jobs, leaving their families in their villages to look after what meagre landholding they possess and the old members and children who could not be accommodated in the big cities. This situation speaks for the dominance of women in almost every class of population of south Konkan.

The population of Konkan is distributed in a number of villages, which are slightly different from the villages of the *Desh* region. Morphologically, a village in Deccan is not a stereotyped settlement and its characteristics vary from the rainy Konkan to the dry interior. A village in Konkan is a small cluster of houses. It could be situated on the plateau, on the coast or along a river entrenched in the plateau. The plateau villages are often large and they are usually located along the road side. The coastal villages and the

estuary settlements represent the typical rural settlements.

A coastal village could be an agricultural settlement in which case it is located on a flat alluvium covered littoral platform or on a river mouth plain. Such settlements have scattered houses with groves of bamboos and other trees likes jack-fruits, mangoes and arecanuts and they appear like a farm house. They are known as *agars*. Houses are constructed in the midst of groves, backed by a rising valley side. Rice is grown in small patches in these villages. These are mainly agricultural villages in which houses are scattered and well spaced. The open space between the two houses is filled up with trees, the coconut and arecanut on the margins of the paddy fields.

The villages located on the projection or ridge i.e. the promontories, overlooking the sea are fishing villages. In the evening the fishermen return to their homes on the sea shore with the day's catch. The houses of these fishing villages differ from the agricultural villages in their construcdion. Here the houses are built in tiers with terraces. The individual houses are raised on a plinth with mud or laterite walls and tiled roofs.[518]

Economy of Malwan

Konkan is known for its poverty since long. In the ancient and early medieval period, when its ports had flourishing trade, Konkan was not so poor as it is now. Its decay began with the coming of the Western powers who tightened their control over the west coast.

Agriculture cannot be considered as the way of life of the of the people of Konkan. With a thick and extensive cover of laterite, deeply entrenched drainage, a greater degree of inaccessibility and isolation, farming alone cannot be a means of subsistance. The poor *kunbai* of Konkan had no other alternative but to seek employment elsewhere within or without Konkan.[519] According to the 1951 census, a little more than 1/5 of the total population

of Malwan was engaged in agricultural profession and the rest was employed in other professions. The figures are:

Agricultural classes	5,276
Non-agricultural classes	24,575
Total	29,851

The soil in this area is classified as :

a) *Paddy soil* in the narrow rivarine plains of the valleys.

b) *Warkas soil* on the slopes of the hills; yellowish red and of poor fertility. Ragi is the principal crop; suitable for Mangoes and cashewnuts.

c) *Garden Soil* at the bottom of the hill ranges; it is fairly fertile where coconut and arecanut gardens are grown.

d) *Coastal alluvium soil*. Coconut and arecanut trees are grown on the coastal strips.

e) *Salty soil.* The inundation of the sea makes a part of the coastal soil salty. They are locally known as khar or khajan. The entire western strips including Malwan, Devgad and Vengurla are salty.

Rice, ragi, small millets, and vara --the cereals and *kulith*, *udid, moog* and *chavali* the pulses, are produced during the monsoon season as kharif crops. Among the winter (rabi) crops, rice, wal, etc. are produced in irrigated areas in addition to vegetables. The Alphanso variety of mangoes is grown in Devgad, Malwan and Vengurla; they have a good market outside India. Cashewnut plantations are also found at Malwan. Mangoes and Cashewnuts are the major cash crops of the Malwan region.

Trade : Konkan's share in the over-seas trade in the early period of Indian History was, quite significant. One peculiarity of the major ports of Konkan is that they are not on the shores of the sea but in the interior on the creeks. Two reasons are attributed to this peculiar phenomenon: one, to avoid the sea-pirates, and the other, the creeks

were navigable as they were not damaged by erosion due to the thick forests of Sahyadri. The cargoes could sail smoothly on the waters of these deep creeks.[520]

Of the fifteen ports on the coast of South Konkan only seven are useful for trade, and all the three ports of the Malwan region, namely Deogad, Vengurla and Malwan fall in this category, as cargo steamers could call at these ports only. As these ports do not possess wharfing and landing facilities, they could admit vessels with a maximum capacity of 200 tons only.

The chief ports of Malwan were Devgad, and Vengurla. Devgad is a land-locked harbour and it is at all times perfectly smooth. It was the only sheltering place for ships during the South-West monsoon on the west coast. It was taken over by the British in 1819 and was converted into a light-house and an observatory. Vengurla, also referred to as *Fingurla* or *Mingrela* in the foreign records, was a flourishing trade centre in the 17th century, when the Dutch had established their trade settlement there. It is a large town stretching half a league along the coast with one of the best routes in India, where all the vessels that came from Batavia, Japan, Bengal and Ceylon, and those bound for Surat, Hormuz and the Red Sea, both coming and going, anchored here because both the water and the rice available here were excellent.[521]

All these Malwan ports were flourishing trade centres from the medieval period to the 19th century. They had trade relations with Arabia, Malbar, Bombay, Cutch, Kathiawar, Goa, and some other ports on the West coast. The chief items of export in the 19th century were rice, linseed, galinuts, hemp, cashewnuts, mangoes, dried rinds of Kokam, coir, coir-ropes, coconuts, sugar, bamboos, blankets, salted-fish, salt, fish, betel-nuts, and others. The items of import were husked rice, cleared rice, gram, oil, English cloth piece goods, grains, ground-nuts, tiles, timber, molasses, tobacco, chillies, etc. The exports were

partly local and partly from the princely state of Sawantwadi and different parts of Ratnagiri. The imports which were mostly for local consumption came from Bombay, Goa, Karwar and other Konkan ports Cochin, Calicut, and Mangalore. The traders were local *Vanis, Gujars, Shenavis, Bhandaris* and *Gabits*. This trade business was transacted partly with their own capital but mainly by borrowing it from the Marwadis. The local shipping consisting of *machvas* and *phatemaris* was generally used for trading purposes; they sailed to Bombay, Karwar, Karachi in the north and Cochin in the South.[522]

The available statistics about the commercial activities of the Malwan division would give some idea of the volume of trade in the nineteenth century.[523] The figures are shown in terms of British sterling, as after 1819 it was under the complete control of the British. They are :

Year	Vol. of Trade	Year	Vol. of Trade
1840	£ 10,775	1873	£ 81,639
1850	£ 13,274	1874-75	£ 77,683
1867	£ 99,619	1878-79	£ 88,574
1871	£ 81,154		

The exchange rate was approximately Rs.10 per sterling.

Malwan was a centre of great activity right from the 16th century. The British opened their factories at Malwan in 1766 and 1792, and finally the port along with its dependencies was ceded to them by the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur in 1812. The Malwan Residency gives the details of the inland customs on exports and imports as they were prevailing in the 19th century.[524] The goods were carried mostly, by bullock load or head-load. Among the items of exports subject to land custom were salt, coconut kernel,

betelnuts, drydates, coir, wood, sugar, black pepper, ginger, sandlewood, turmeric, almond, dry fruits, dry walnut and others. The customs ad valerum at 3 p.c. was charged on the export of cloves, nutmegs, mace, silkthread, lead, copper, iron etc. Duty on goods exported and imported by sea was charged at 2% of the valuation or upon the market price of Malwan. The import duty on Bombay salt was higher than the export duty on Malwan salt. This high tariff on salt imports was to protect the domestic salt industry.

Land custom imports on gram, *moong*, black gram, *tur*, *udid, peas*, were charged at 4¼, anna per bullock load.

Higher rates were fixed for costly and luxury goods like sandlewood, black pepper, cotton thread, salt-petre, coarse cloth, chilly, jaggery, tobacco, etc.

Some details of the value of the export and import trade for the year 1819 are available.[525] They are :

Total valae of trade	£ 28,570	(Rs. 28,5790)
Exports	£ 5,283	(Rs. 52,830)
Imports	£ 23,296	(Rs.. 23,2960)

Details of Exports and Imports from Mr.Hale's Diary of 1879

Exports	Coriander seeds	£ 502
	Clarified butter	£ 554
	Hemp	£ 1,749
	Piece goods	£ 793
	Total	£ 3,598

Imports	Coconut kernels	£ 838
	Grain	£1,645
	Piece goods	£ 2,269
	Rice	£12,855
	Total	£ 17,607

These figures include items from Vengurla as well.

The Marathas gave exemptions in custom duties to certain persons under special circumstances. The Kolhapur state had instructed its customs officers of Konkan that the bullocks carrying loads of Tobacco should not be obstructed for customs, on their way to Sindhudurg and also their return from that place loaded with some goods.[526] However, such exemptions, it appears were not granted by the British to anybody.

Piracy

The foreign travellers and geographers have complained about the piracy on the west coast prevailing right from the ancient times. According to them it was freely practised on the Konkan Coast, South of Malwan which had become the nest of pirates.[527] In the 17th and early 18th century Malwan was the head quarters of pirates known as *Malwans*. The Portuguese and the English branded Kanhoji Angre, the admiral of the Marathas as a pirate as he was capturing their ships and obstructing their trade.[528] They even accused the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur of piracy as he had fitted three kinds of vessels Galivats, *shibars* and *garabs* which plied on the sea under the pretext of patrolling the coast, but mainly for seizing the merchantships. “They sailed with no written commission and with instructions to take any vessel they could master except such as had English colours and passes. Sometimes they seized boats under English protection, evading the open assault by sending on some

boats, to examine the pass, contrived to steal or lose it, and make off. Soon after, the rest of the pirates came up and seized the trader. In many cases restitution was demanded by the British Government and made without demur."[529]

"The Portuguese historians have always described Indian Admirals and seamen who fought the war of national resistance as pirates. Barros found it necessary to defend the Portuguese conduct with elaborate theological-legal casuistry that he was aware of the piratical character of his countrymen." The Portuguese were determined to ruin the sea-borne trade of India by force and not by fair commercial competition. According to Nambiar, the Portuguese were no less than pirates. The seas which were free for all to navigate were declared by them as under their control according to Papal Bull, and forced the merchants to buy cartazes i.e. permit to ply on the seas from their captains. Those who did not obtain the permits were punished by capturing their merchantships. This act of the Portuguese was nothing else but piracy.[530]

Piracy was not easy to suppress as it was difficult to make a distinction between a pirate and a merchant[531] in those days. The pirates were always found on the seas keeping their eyes on cargo-ships. They would surround such ships, plunder them, take away persons and children on the ships as hostages, and would release them on payment. They did not belong to any particular caste, religion or nationality. On the west coast, Hindus, Arabs, Negroes from the Persian gulf, and Europeans were found involved in piracy. The Arab pirates had their guilds at Muscat.[532]

In a letter addressed to Sir John Shore, the Governor General in council, Fort William in 1793, the Bombay Government of the Company narrated the background of their actions against the Malwan port. The report mentions that besides 'the Northern Pirates called the *Gabits* (fishers

and sailors) of Colaba, the Angres, the Peshwa's Government, the Raja of Kolhapur and the Bhonsale chieftain of Sawantwadi are involved in this business of piracy. The Company, therefore, planned an expedition for the protection of their trade on the west coast against the *Malwans* in 1765 and captured the fort of Sindhudurg, the den of the *Malwans*, the pirates. The Company, however, found it difficult to retain Malwan and its fort, and agreed to restore it to Kolhapur on payment of compensation with a promise to stop piracy.[533] But the Treaty was not fully honoured; piracy remained unchecked; the Kolhapur chief's promises proved worthless. The British, therefore, thought the trade would not be safe unless they held some forts and harbours near Malwan. The Kolhapur State was compelled to cede the harbour of Malwan and the fort of Sindhudurg and its dependencies in 1812. The Raja also agreed to check the piracy, to allow no armed vessels to leave or to enter his ports, to restore wrecks and to help the vessels in distress. The chief of Sawantwadi made over the port of Vengurla to the British and agreed to put down piracy. He also conceded several other things like ceding the ports of Nivti and Redi if he failed to check piracy; to pass dutyfree all articles required for the British troops and their paying custom duties, to allow British merchants a free passage to and from his territory. The British thus established their civil and military Control over Malwan and Vengurla. This consequenty put an end to piratical practices on the west coast.[534]

Communication

For facilitating trade, it was not enough to get rid of piracy. It was also necessary to have a good network of land routes as well as water-routes. Though the Malwan region is best suited for sea-traffic because of its fordable creeks at low waters and navigable rivers, the land routes were equally important for getting supplies for trade from the hinterland. But because of the rugged and broken belt

of coast land and numerous hills, road-transport is not only difficult, but also time-consuming. The long standing demand for the railway line in the Konkan has not been met with so far though efforts are being made now to give effect to it.

The principal ghats or passes connecting the Ratnagiri district to its hinterland, namely the Kolhapur District and passes of the Karnatak State are Bhoiwada, Karul, Phonda, Hanumant, Amboli and Ramghat. For Malwan and Vengurla trade, Phonda and Amboli or Parpoli passes are very important.

The sea-traffic is conducted partly by steamers and partly by sailing vessels. Ferries are used on the navigable rivers for-transporting goods and passengers. Sailing vessels are of two kinds foreign and local.

The foreign ships of the Arab model, carrying the burden of 75 to 150 tons are owned by Arabs and Indian muslims of the west coast. They generally come from Arabia to Jaytapur, a part of the Ratnagiri district by the end of October bringing dates, raisins, almonds, mats, and other things and after a two weeks, stay and with loads of gallnuts, hemp, turmeric, and ground nuts, sail to Bombay or Malbar to collect further goods for carrying them to their home land.

The local sailing crafts are the *shibadi*, the *phatemari* the *mhangiri*, the *machoa*, the *padav* or *balav*. The other varieties are ulandi, pagar and don. The *shihadi* is a large vessel of 100 to 300 tons burden. The *phatemari* a deep narrow vessel, with a great speed and an excellent sailor, is twenty five to forty-five feet long and of 25 to 100 tons burden. The *mhangiri* is like the *phatemari*, but smaller and of ten to twenty five tons burden. The *machvas* and *padavs* or *balavs* of a broader and flatter build are from 12 to 25 feet long and of 2½ to 10 tons, burden. The smaller machvas are often used for deep sea-fishing. There are about 51 types of vessels mentioned in the Marathi

records.[535]

These vessels are owned by *Bhatias, Gujars, Musalmans Parsis* and fishermen of *Gabit, Koli* and *Kharvi* classes of Hindus and Konkani and *Daldi* classes of Muslims. Brahmans are also found in this business either as owners of vessels or money-lenders to fishermen.

The *Shibadi* vessels have a strength of 20 to 25 persons on the crew, besides the captain, a *phatemari* has 14 to 18, a *mhangiri* has 8 to 10, and a *machava* has five to seven hands as crew. The sea-men belonged to the class of *Kolis, Bhandaris, Gabits, Bhois, Kharvis* and Muslmans, coming mostly from the Vengurla side. These vessels work only during the season of fair and are laid up during the south west monsoon.[536]

The wages of the seamen in the beginning of the 19th century, were : *Tandel*, Rs.7½, *Sar Tandel* Rs.10 and a Sailor *(Khalashi)* Rs.4½ per month. The wages on a merchantship were: Tandel from Rs.5 to 6 *Sar Tandel* from Rs. 6 to 8 and *Khalashi* from Rs. 4 & 4½ per month in addition to ration which included ghee, rice, gram, etc. The vessels started sailing on an auspicious day, as suggested by the brahman after consulting the almanac. He was paid fees for this job upto Rs. 5 in cash plus rice, coconuts, betelnuts, betel leaves etc. in kind. If the vessels came across temples and mosques on their route they stopped there, for worshipping and honouring them.[537]

Ship-building

With so much volume of sea-traffic, it was but natural to have demand for vessels of different sizes in these areas. The ship building or repairing was done at Malwan by the Hindu carpenters and *panchkalasis* helped by *gabits* (fishermen) and by the Muslmans and the local Christians. The chief boat building towns in the Ratnagiri district in the 19th Ratnagiri, Jaytapur, Malwan and Vengurla. The teak wood used for ship-building has been described by

foreigners as Oak of India.[538] In 1830, the teak forests were transferred by the govenment to the Khots, the Zamindar of the Konkan. This made ship-building an important industry at least for a while. When the teak timber stock of Konkan got reduced, teak wood from Malbar was imported. The local wood of nana, jack, and mango trees was also used for ship-building. For the construction of a boat an auspicious day was chosen, and while launching the vessel on the sea, it was decorated with flags and flowers; Musalmans used sabja leaves for decoration. The vessels were named as *Laxmiprasad, Gangaprasad, Daryadaulat, Bhavani, Sadashiva, Sawai Vetal, Narnag, Bhaskar, Salamati, Bahiri, Sardari, Samser,* and so on.[539] The vessel was set on a trial trip with a music band and a company of friends, who were treated to *toddy*, a drink, and betelnuts were distributed. Brahmans were given gifts and the ship-builder was honoured with a turban. The vessels last for 40 to 50 years.[540]

Fisheries : Associated with coast is the industry of fishing. The wealth of the seas influence the economic and political development oi nations as can be seen from the histories of European powers like Spain, Great Britain etc. and also of Japan, the Asiatic power. The fisheries of western India are of great potentialities in this respect. The Konkan fishing community under the Marathas in the 17th and 18th centuries had shouldered the responsibility of developing the naval power on the west coast. It had relieved to a great extent the pressure of population on land by supplying alternative fishfood. The west coast has better fishing grounds and a better variety of fish.[541]

Maharashtra occupies a second position among the maritime states of India. It produces 3.3 lakh tonnes of marine products every year, from three lakh hectares of the water-spread area of numerous reservoirs, tanks, ponds and rivers. It has registered a production of 27,000 tonnes of fish every year. Its fishermen population residing

in 375 villages amounts to 2.32 lakh.[542]

The ports of Malwan and Vengurla are known for the production of the Oyster variety of shell fish, which is the most highly prized on account of its taste and food value. In the 120 coastal villages of this region, the estimated fish catch is about 3,50,000 maunds per year. The fisheres have many problems to face, like lack of finance, inadequate transport and market facilities. Its techniques are not fully modernized. Mechanization would develop this industry quite appreciably.

Mineral Resources : South Konkan is rich in minerals. It has large deposits of iron, manganese, bauxite and silica. Iron ore is found at many places in Vengurla taluq. In the area around Redi, it is estimated that there is a reserve of 44 million tones of iron ore. Manganese ore is found in the Vengurla side. There is every scope for the full exploitation of these mineral potentialities.

Industry : Konkan is very poor in industries of modern times. Big industries are not likely to be set up for various reasons, but there is every scope for the development of small industries like fruit and fish canning and processing of cashewnuts by utilizing the raw material locally available. Mangoes and cashewnuts are dollar earning products of the Konkan. Fruit canning has a big market in Bombay, Gulf areas and parts of Europe. The processing of cashewnuts and the extraction of liquid from the cashewnut shell, instead of burning it, are economically very profitable activities. If more area could be brought under mango and cashewnut cultivation in Malwan, Vengurla and Devgad region, this region would earn rich dividends.

The economic development of Konkan in general and Malwan region in particular is arrested by various reasons. The peculiar geographical position of the region is mainly responsible for the poor development in agriculture, trade, industry and transport. The rocky and rugged soil, lack of

fertile lands and irrigation facilities, absence of adequate means of transport and communication, non-availability of adequate electric power and capital resources, the deficit in food grains are the main factors which made the region backward. Power, transport and capital are the three major needs of the South Konkan.[543]

The old coastal society of the medieval period started disintegrating in the 19th century when the British took over Malwan, Vengurla, Devgad and other parts of the South Konkan from 1812 onwards. The ports of Malwan, Vengurla did not remain big centres of trade as before. The over-seas trade declined and the harbours, were not properly developed. The Sindhudurg fort of Shivaji is in a ruined condition and is now only of historical significance.

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502 Spate O. H. K. India and Pakistan : A General and Regional Geography, London, 1953 p. 6.6.

503 Malwan (160.00 N, 730.25 E) In a bay entirely blocked by rocking reefs, there were formerly three small islands, two of them about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and the third separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. On the larger of the two outer islands stands the famous fort of Sindu-durg, and on the smaller, the ruined fort of Padamgad now at low tide, connected with the mainland by a neck of sand. On what once was the inner island, and is now part of the mainland, lies almost hid in palms the old town of Malwan." Malwan was a place of considerable trade in medieval times. It has been referred to by different names by different people such as Milandi, Mali, Malia, Molundi etc." - Maharashtra State Gazetteers (New Series) Rantangiri District, Bombay, 1962 pp. 770-71.

504 Duff Grant : History of the Maharattas Ed. S. M. Edwardes, London, 1921 Vol. I, p. 478.

In the 17th and early years of the 18th centuries, Malwan was the headquarters of the pirates known as Malvanis, a very cruel race according to Grant Duff, "the most active and desperate of all the coast corsairs."

Ratnagiri Gaz. op. cit. p. 774.5. "Shivaji had experienced the most determined and successful opposition to his arms from the fortified islands on the pirate coast, especially at Danda Rajpuri, held in Jagir and defended by the Habshees or the Abyssinian slaves of the emperors of Delhi. Anxious to possess a similar fortified island to protect his vessels and be a stronghold in adversity, he ordered a survey of the coast to his Sardars. After much research, the mass of rocks opposite to Malwan was fixed as the site of Sindudurga."

-- Balkrishna, Shivaji the Great Kolhapur, 1931, Vol. I part II p. 118.

505 Shivaji laid the foundation of the Sindhudurga fort on an island called 'Kurte' at a distance of nearly a mile away from the Malwan port town on 25 November, 1664 and completed its construction in three years with the help of the Portuguese engineers. "On a low island about a mile from the shore, it (Sindhudurg) is very extensive, a little less than two miles round the ramparts. The walls are low, ranging from twenty nine to thirty feet. They are on an average twelve feet thick, and have about 52 towers from forty to one hundred thirty yards apart. The western side of the outer wall is now broken by dashing waves which have caused a breach of twenty feet in it." Ratnagiri Gaz. op. city. p. 773.

See also Sardesai G. S. Marathi Riyasat : Shakakarta Shivaji (2nd Ed.) Bombay, 1975 pp 99-100 and 238, 239 and Shivaji Souvenir (Ed. by him, Bombay, 1927 p 92 (Marathi part)

506 Shejwalkar T. S. Shri Shiva Chhatrapati, Bombay, 1964 p. 113-Grant Duff op. city. vol I p. 157.

507 Desai S. C. (Ed.) Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, (Marathi translations of Portuguese Sources) Vol. 1-5 Wai, 1968, Pp. 19; 95-96, 101-105.

508 Pissurlencar P. S. Portuguese Marathe Sambandha, Poona, 1967 pp. 264-65

- Pawar A. G. (Ed) Jijabai Kalin Kagad Patre

Kolhapur, 1975, pp 157-58, 162, 223-25

509 Pawar, op. cit. pp. 199 and 203

510 Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol II p 235

511 Pawar, op. cit., p. 210 and 323

See also S. S. Desai, Karveer Chhatrapati and Portuguese, Kolhapur, 1978 p. 90.

512 By this treaty of Karvir, "The Raja ceded the harbour of Malwan, which included the forts and island of Malwan or Sindidroog and its dependencies; he also agreed to renounce piracy to permit no armed vessels to be fitted to the British Government and to restore wrecks, as well as to assist vessels in distress" Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. II p 422

513 Choksey R. D. : Malwan Residency, Pune 1956 p. 18.

514 ibid P. 18

515 Ratnagiri Gaz (New Series) Op. cit, p. 201-206 old Vol. X p. 313-14.

516 Rajwade V.K. (Ed) Marathayanchya Itihasachi Sadhahe, Dhule, 1912, Vol XV : letter 279.

517 Ratnagiri Gaz. (New) Op.cit., pp 201-206 Choksey op.cit., p 18.

518 Dikshit K. R. Maharashtra in Maps, Bombay 1986 pp. 137-38

519 ibid p.160

520 Shejwalkar T.S. Konkanchya Itihasachi Parshwabhumi Pune, 1961 p 21

521 Bombay Gaz. Vol. X (old) p. 377, Ratnagiri (New) Op.cit. p 153. See also Kulkarni A. R. Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji, Poona, 1969 p 212.

522 Bombay Gaz. X Op.cit p. 185-186.

523 ibid Pp 177-78.

524 Choksey op.cit Pp 13-14

525 Bom Gaz Op.cit p. 348-99

526 Pingulkar V.P. Sawantwadi Samsthanacha Itihas. 1911, p. 73 letter No. 94 dated 19 Nov. 1759.

527 Apte B.K. History of Maratha Navy and Merchantship Bombay, 1973 p 29

528 Ibid Pp 74-79

529 Bom. Gvs. Op.cit p. 351-52

530 Nambiar O.K. Portuguses Pirates and Indian Seamen, Mysore 1955 pp i, ii (preface). 11, 46

Observations of a Dutch governor, Anthony Van Dieman on Portuguese pirates deserve some attention in this respect. He says, " Most of the Portuguese in India look upon this region as their fatherland, and think no more about Portugal. They drive little or no trade thither, but content themselves with the port to port trade of Asia. just as if they were natives thereof and had no other country."

Ashin Das Gupta and M.N. Pearson (Ed)

India and the Indian Ocean, OUP, 1987 p.78

531 ibid. p.22

532 Dhabbu D.G. Kulabkar Angre Sarkhel (Marathi) Bombay, 1939 p 416

533 Pune Archives, Rumal No.47, File No.I, narrative No.7 (unpublished).

534 Bom. Gaz. op.cit., p.198

535 Dhabbu, op.cit., pp 378-79.

536 Bom. Gaz. op.cit., p 166-174

537 Dhabbu, op.cit., pp 401- 402

538 Paranjape B.G. (Ed) English Records on Shivaji Poona, 1931, Vol. II letter 110

539 Dhabbu, op.cit; 401

540 Bom.Gaz op.cit., p 173 -74

The observations of a Frenchman about the quality of the Indian Vessels of the vear 1811 are worth quoting here. "Inient times the Indians excelled in theart of constructing vessels and the present Hindoos (1811 A.D.) can in this respect still offer models to Europe so much that English attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture, have borrowed from Hindoos many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping. The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility and are models of patience and fine workmanship."

Quoted in Dhanbbu op. cit. p. 378.

541 Deshpande C.D. Western India : A regional Geography Dharwar, 1998 p 33-34

542 Glimpses of Maharashtra, Govt. publication p 25

543 Ratnagiri Gaz (New) op.cit pp 529-533.

12

BUSINESS AND THE MARATHAS

Maharashtra, the region of the Maratha rule, was not much known for business or commercial activity. This land, which was mostly hilly, having a large portion of barren land, hardly produced commodities which could be exported to regions outside its own territorial limits or abroad. The west coast of Maharashtra, particularly the Konkan region, had certain commercial emporia because of its geographical situation, like Vengurla, Dabhol, Chaul, Vasai (Bassein), Ratnagiri, etc. But the commercial activities in these areas were hardly in the hands of indigenous people. The foreigners like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French, were mostly engaged in transacting the business on the west cost. Thus, the various centres of trade and commerce in Maharashtra served mainly as clearing houses controlled by the overseas traders. The Marathas, unlike their neighbours on the west coast-the Gujaratis, could not get involved in business activity in a big way. They were safisfied with small-scale mercantile activities which could meet the requirements of the local people, and which did not involve much capital investment. In this paper, it is proposed to consider the limited business activities of the Marathas mainly in the 17th century and the attitude of the Maratha government towards trade and commerce. A brief reference will be made later to the business under Marathas in the 18th century, though there was hardly any substantial change either in their activities or attitude.

The Marathas did not control the entire Maharashtra in the 17th century. Due to disturbed political situations, the areas in the Maratha country often alternated between the

Marathas and the Mughals or the Muslims. But this change in the political power hardly affected the organisational aspect of the indigenous system of commercial activity. The term business community will be used in a very limited sense in this paper. It mainly includes the people involved in the organisation of the village market, the moneylenders and the petty traders.

I

Like the village community, the business community of the village market was an organised and independent body. The decision taken by this community could not be over ruled even by the king. It could even prevail on the king to revoke his decision against any member of its community. In an agreement with Shivaji negotiated by the Shettis i.e., the merchant community, it was specifically mentioned that a member of their community, convicted of capital punishment by the government, must be released if the community was convinced of his innocence and sent a message to that effect.[544]

-- The Market place in the Maratha country was called *peth* and was usually a part of the big village or town called *qasba*. It was generally located in the outskirts of the village, where a weekly bazaar was held for the benefit of the neighbouring villages (panchkroshi). For instance the *peth* of Indapur was separated from the qasba by a streamlet and independent arrangements were made for its functioning. Its weekly *bazaar* was held on Sunday. There were *peth*s on the forts also for the benefit of garrison and other residents. Raigad, the fort capital of Shivaji, had a big *peth*.

The Maratha country in the 17th century hardly had any big markets, having much commercial contacts outside its territory. Most of the business was transacted in the weekly *bazaars* held in qasbas. There used to be some permanent shops in a bigger *peth*. For instance in the

Indapur *peth* in 1699 there were following permanent members with their shops in it.[545]

Weaver (koshti)	9	Assayer (saraf)	8
Cobbler (chambhar)	1	Goldsmith (sonar)	5
Grocer (bakal)	20	Painter (rangari)	1
Oilman (teli)	5	Tailor (darji)	3
Metal worker or bangle-seller (kasar)	3	Shepherd (dhangar) (perhaps selling wool or blankets)	1
Cloth merchant (bajaj)	8		

Besides these permanent members of the *peth*, a number of outside merchants and artisans used to attend the market with their production on the *bazaar* day. These itinerant merchants of the weekly bazaar stayed there till the evening and moved to another market during the night. Generally the day-to-day requirements of the inhabitants were purchased in the weekly *bazaars* of the *peth*.

A *peth* was generally established under a sanad or order from the government. Shivaji's mother Jijabai for instance gave a sanad to one brahman called Thakar in 1657 to establish a *peth* at Pashan,[546] near Pune, which has now become a suburb of the city. This *Peth* was, therefore, named after her as Jijapur. Another *peth* near Khed in Pune district was called Shivapur, obviously named after Shivaji,[547] the founder of the Maratha kingdom.

The chief officers of the *peth* were the shete and the *mahajan,* who were *watandars* like Patil and Kulkarni of the village communities. As *watandars* they held rent-free land in lieu of their services to the *peth*. Like other *wantadars* they were entitled to some rights and perquisites *(haklajimas)*, both in cash and kind, from the members of the *peth*. The shete was mainly responsible

for the establishment and general administration of the *peth*, whereas the mahajan acted as his accountant. Both were entitled to attend the village council *(gotsabha)* and participate in its deliberations. Balance was the insignia or symbol of *shete-mahajan*, used for official purposes.

In order to make a new *peth* self-supporting, the state used to grant exemptions in taxes *(jakat)*. For instance, merchants coming to Rustumabad *peth* (original name Gadga *peth*) in Chaul taluq of Talkonkan were exempted from all octroi duties for a period of 12 years by an order of the government issued in 1643-44.[548] In a document even the names of certain merchants like Sangvi, Viraji, Gopal Mahajan, Lakha Shenvi, Babaji and Setwadkar, who were exempted from several duties levied by the government, are mentioned. As these merchants had come to develop the *peth*, it was clearly stipulated in the agreement that if any loans were advanced to merchants coming from Chaul or Revadanda, they should not be pressed for the repayment for a period of five years, and even after that period recovery should be made according to their ability to pay.[549] The reference to Shenvi in this document indicates that the Saraswat Community of Konkan was mainly engaged in commercial activities. On the desh side, the office of shetes was enjoyed by the brahmans, lingayats or jains.

Shete was the leader of the *peth* and his main duty was to induce new dealers to settle in his *peth* and develop it. But sometimes this job was assigned to another special officer called *bidwai*. This office was offered to an influential person for a limited period in the first instance. For instance, one Ramsheti shete of Charholi *peth* of Pune district, petitioned to Shahaji, the father of Shivaji, in 1653 that his *peth*, once a prosperous one, was in a ruined condition for a log time and that for its rehabilitation and development the appointment of a *bidwai* was imperative. The shete of *Charholi* had already approached Vinayakbhat Thakar of Pune who was willing to accept this

office provided a letter from maharaj *(khurda khat)* and a decision *(mahajar)* to that effect was obtained from the government. Shahaji accepted this petition of *shete* and withdrew the *sanad* of the former *bidwai*, Rankoji Deokar, and instructed the *karkuns* and *deshmukhs* of *pargana* Pune to obtain a mahajar from the mahal in the name of Thakar for a period of 12 years.[550]

Colonization of the *peth* was one of the major duties of the shete for which he was allowed to enjoy certain perquisites sanctioned by the government. Dauji Rakhji Shete had established a *peth* at Kasar Bongar in Chaul *pargana* and, therefore, the officers of the *pargana* were asked to allow him to enjoy the rights of the *peth* as sanctioned by tradition.[551]

A *desai* of Chaul was assigned the *mahajanki* of the *peth*, and was given one-fourth exemption in the tax payment, if he himself was engaged in the transactions of the market. The *chaugula* was another officer of the *peth*; perhaps assisting the *shete* in his duties. Another desai of Chaul got this office and he too enjoyed similar tax exemptions on his commercial activities, while the *shete* of Chaul, Deochand Sau, was to pay only half of the total *jakat* on his personal trading activities.[552]

It cannot be said with certainty from the available records what were the powers and perquisites enjoyed by the *bidwai* from his *peth*. His main job was to put the *peth* in order and make it flourishing. Tukaram, the contemporary saintpoet and also a merchant by profession,calls god Vithoba the *bidwai* of the *peth* of Pandharpur, which obviously means that the office of *bidwai* was a prestigious one.

The merchants of the *peth* or those who attended it for a short period were required to pay certain taxes and the *bidwai* was supposed to realize them on behalf of the government. He received perhaps, a part of the collection as his fees. The merchants naturally tried to evade these

taxes. A *bidwai* from a Konkan *peth* complained that a number of commodities were imported from the ghat areas to his *peth*, and many were exported from it, but the collection of duties on these transactions was not properly recorded; this *peth*, therefore, suffered a financial loss. He further added that some merchants carried commodities from his *peth* by sea route to Surat and from there they were directed to the ghat areas by evading government duties. When this *peth* was under the Muslims, the Muslim merchants were exempted from all taxes. A few merchants, pretending to be Muslims, openly violated the regulations. The *bidwai*, therefore, requested the government to fix the rules of *jakat* and assign him the office of miras which could be enjoyed perpetually by him and his successors. He would then collect all the taxes fully and make the *peth* prosperous.[553] It seems that the government accepted the request of the *bidwai*. The *bidwai* was, at some places, holding the charge of *kotwal* of the *peth*; and in that capacity he must have exercised police and magisterial duties.[554] As a member of the village council he used to attend its meetings, and affix his signature and symbol (balance) on the decisions. In a *mahajar* of Kudal of the year 1664, the names of Gansheti and Baksheti have been mentioned in a case involving the sale of *watan* by a *deshmukh.* He was regarded as mirasdar having a permanent place and house in the *peth*.[555]

The hilly region of Maharashtra has many ghats or passes through which goods move from one place to another. The *watan*dar officals of the *ghats* were called *ghatpandes*. The shetes in the vicinity of the ghats helped the ghatpandes along with other local officials in collecting the *jakat* from the merchants passing through the *ghats*.[556]

The officers of the *peth* admitted new members to it during the process of its expansion. A list of members of the Indapur *peth* prepared in 1688, though incomplete,

gives certain names with the professions. Under the category of old members *(kadim)*, three *sarafs*, one *sonar*, five *telis*, and two *darjis* are shown, whereas in the category of new members *(Jadid)* five *sarafs*, two *sonars* and nine *telis* are shown. As this document is illegible at places, the professions of five old members mentioned in it are not clear.[557] Another document shows separately the resident and alien merchants of the *peth*.[558]

Shete, also known as *nagarshet*, enjoyed numerous *haks* (rights). A document[559] of the year 1600 in this respect is quite interesting. The manpan or precedence rights, enjoyed by the nagarshet of Chaul, mentioned in this document, continued to be more or less the same in the Maratha country throughtout the 17th centruy.

The *nagarshet* was entitiled to have feast in each house once a year and receive the present of a silver coin called *lari*. On the occasion of marriage in the family of any member of his *peth*, he received one scarf *(shela)* and on the arrival of a son in a family, he was entitled to a *lari* from its head. Artisans *(balutedars and alutedars)* and merchants paid annually between one to one and a half *lari* as a present to him. He decided the cases of his caste and collected fines *(khand danda)* from the parties concerned. Cases of adultery were severaly dealt with by him. The heirless property of the members of his *peth* was appropriated by him as escheat *(niputrikatva)*. A person disobeying the *shete* or violating his orders was to meet with imprisonment or even capital punishment. He was entitled to such honours as umbrella *(chhatr)*, torch *(divati)* servants *(nokar chakar)*, horse *(ghoda)*, etc. He attended the village council by right.[560]

The *haks* received by Vedmurti Vinayakbhat Thakar of Pashan (Jijapur) *peth* have been enumerated in a sanad[561] of 1657.These were *shetepan, mahajanki, bidwainpan, kotwali, khumakhumachi mehatarki* (leadership of the members of the *peth*) *devahalki* (right to

prepare drafts), and *pansarki* (in charge of weights and measures). The *deshmukh* and *mukadam* of Pashan were informed by Jijabai about these rights of Vinayakbhat Thakar and were asked to take necessary services from him and allow him to enjoy the same *haklajimas* as existed in Aundh *peth*. It was also enjoined that violations of these orders would be equated with a crime against the state.The Thakar family continued to enjoy these rights even in the 18th century.[562] The Thakars were the priests to the *Moraya (Ganesh)* temple of Chinchavad, and the rights granted to them on Jijapur *peth* were meant to meet the expenses involved in daily worship *(puja)*, offering of the eatable to the idol *(naivedya)* and keeping a lamp which continued to light day and night (nandadeep) in the temple.[563]

Vinayakbhat Thakar, enjoying several offices connected with the *peth*s of Charholi and Pashan, seems to have been an influential person in Shivaji's times. It is not known whether he was performing all these functions himself or had appointed paid deputies for this purpose. But it is quite clear that all income accuring from these offices was credited to the family of Thakar. These different offices, enumerated in the *sanad* of Thakar, indicate different functions associated with his *peth*, perhaps a big *peth*, but the *shetes* and *mahajans* of a small *peth* must be discharging all such duties of a *peth* like *bidwai*pan, *kotwalki, pansarki,* etc.

Protection of the *peth* was the responsibility of the state. Patrolling in the *peth* was done by the state officials. Assaults on the *peth* were interpreted to indicate the negligence on the part of the government in giving enough protection to the members of the *peth*. Trade and commerce could flourish only under conditions of peace and security. Shivaji did try to create favourable conditions for the development of trade by establishing law and order in his state. Chandrarao More, the jagirdar of Javali, once assured the *shete-mahajans* and the merchants of Shirale

qasba of his jagir that if they lost a piece of hemp, he would give them a chain of gold as compensation.[564]

II

Konkan was a flourishing trading region in the 17th century. Chaul, Dabhol, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Vengurla, Pen were often mentioned as trade centres in the factory records. Other minor centres were Dahanu, Tarapur, Mahim, Agashi, Vasai, Bandra, Nagothane, Shrivardhan, Jaitapur, Kharepatan-- all in Konkan. Chaul and Dabhol were often compared with the ports of Surat and Goa from the point of view of volume of trade and navigation facilities. Muslim rulers of Ahmednagar and Bijapur had obtained *cartazes* from the Portuguese to sail ships from Chaul and Dabhol to Mocha, Mecca, Hormuz and other places.[565] The ports which were exclusively under the Marathas like Rajapur, Dabhol and Keleshi were helpful to the trade and commerce of the English East India Company at Bombay.[566]

Chaul, a great mart of many commodities of Deccan, came under the Marathas by 1670. Its chief product was silk which was supplied to many parts of the country, and it was claimed that the Chaul silk was even superior to China silk. Its other exports were indigo and opium and it imported many European articles. It was also known for horse trade. The great fire of 1674 destroyed nearly three thousand houses in Chaul, and thus reduced the importance of Chaul as a trading centre.[567] The wide-spread destruction and uncertain political situation must have led the artisans of Chaul to migrate to Bombay and other places. It is very likely that Kalyan-Bhivandi developed into textile centres, perhaps because of the migration and settlement of weavers from Chaul to these areas.

Dabhol was another important trading centre of Konkan which came into the hands of the Marathas by 1662. This

port was good for anchoring ships. A letter from Bombay, to the East India Company mentions that the Maratha port of Dabhol was indispensable for the trade of Bombay, for it supplied much more cheaply than Surat and other ports many commodities like "pepper, sticklacal, seedlacal, dungress, percollas and other coarse sortes of cloth" which the Company exported to Europe.[568] Dabhol was the most magnificent and populous place in these parts, full of noble houses, fine buildings, superb temples and old mosques. The ships of Malabar and Cambay met here and' exchanged their commodities. Great caravans of bullocks loaded with goods came down from the interior to Dabhol.[569]

Kalyan was another populous city of the 17th century where goods from all "Indostan, Golkunda and Coromandel" poured in.[570] But when Dr. Fryer visited this place in 1675, he found this chief "empory of the trade which once excelled in trade and sumptuousness." practically in a state of decadence.[571] Bhivandi was then supplying cloth to the East India Company's factory at Bombay.[572]

Rajapur was another important commercial centre in the Ratnagiri district of Konkan, and the Company was quite hopeful that it would become a centre of large trade in saltpetre, pepper, calicoes, cotton yarn in the near future.[573] The English and the French had their factories at Rajapur. Abbe Carre, the French traveller who visited Rajapur in 1672, writes : "It is inhabited by Moors, Hindus and some strangers engaged in commerce. It has also some rich merchants whose ships trade in the Red Sea, in Persia at Basra and with the whole of India."[574]

Vengurla, the seat of the Dutch factory, was a thriving centre of trade and also a great place of call for ships from Batavia, Japan and Ceylon on one side and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf on the other.[575] One Dutch ship sailed to Bandar Abbas in Lar from Vengurla carring probably

pepper in 1639.[576]

Among the articles of trade, foodgrains, spices, cloth varieties, fruits and other edibles, animals, slaves, etc., were marketed in the trading centre mentioned above. Some of these commodities were procured from other parts of India and some from abroad. Of the European nations, the French, the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese supplied goods to Maharashtra and carried away some of its utility products for marketing in Europe. The English East India Company which took the largest share of trade, supplied a number of articles such as copper, lead, tin, iron, gunpowder, gun, quicksilver, sticklack, seedlack, broad cloth, coarse cloth, fine cloth, coloured cloth, red-cotton yarn, ropes, etc.[577]

Conditions for smooth trade did not prevail in Maharashtra in the 17th century due to confused political situation, preventing free movement of merchants and goods. This naturally resulted in the decline in the volume of trade. The Konkan had become a theatre of war during this period due to constant fights among the Marathas, the Mughals and the Adil Shahi rulers. Shivaji had adopted a firm policy towards the commercial activities of the foreigners. He denied the privilege of carrying goods upcountry to the Company.[578] At the same time he tried to maintain friendly relations with the English as can be seen from the negotiations for trade between him and the Company.[579] He gave as great an encouragement to the Company's trade as it could reasonably desire.[580]

However the European trading companies do not seem to have developed much trade with Maharashtra, probably because the standard of living of most of the people of this land was too simple to allow them to buy the costly European goods. The East India company was quite hopeful that "The trade for Sevagees country will consume quantities of Europe commodities and particularly be useful for consumption of copper pice, and tinnys or tinn

Budgrookes in great qualities." Moreover, it appears that Shivaji had promised the company to establish a warehouse for his merchants in Bombay "for the putting of great quantity of goods which he hath laying by him." The Company officials felt that this plan of Shivaji would lead to the development of its trade in his country.[581] But this seems to have remained a pious wish on both the sides as nothing concrete resulted from it.

Another important article of trade of Konkan was salt as many salt-pans were working in the districts of Thana and Kolaba. Pen, Panvel, Nagothana, Revadanda and Thana were the chief centres of salt-making, Salt from Talkonkon was carried to various parts of India as well as outside India, as we find references to the salt-fleet of Shivaji in the English records.[582] With a view to protecting the salt industry and keeping the prices of salt at lower or equal level to that of salt coming from the Portuguese areas, Shivaji had imposed a high tariff on salt.[583]

III

The Marathas could not develop a good system of communication and transport because of the geographical situation of this region. As industry, trade and commerce under the Marathas were in primitive stage, a good network of roads and improved methods of communication were conspicuous by absence in this region. The means of transport generally used for carrying goods from one place to another were oxen, horses, camels, ponies, donkeys, he-buffaloes, bullock-carts, ferry-boats, etc. Human beings carrying heavy loads on their shoulders or heads were called *khandadiya* or ozekari.[584] Caravans of oxen carried huge loads of paddy, jowar, salt, etc., through the narrow ghats. Dr fryer, while passing through Naneghat, saw three hundred oxen loaded with salt.[585] Saint-poet Tukaram mentions that sacks of sugar were carried by oxen.[586] Salt-fleets were maintained for transporting salt to distant

area.[587] The Marathas had about 8 or 9 port-towns on the west coast[588] under their control from which at least two to three ships sailed every year to Iran, Basara, Mocha, etc. for trading purposes.[589]

Trade, commerce, and industry need a good banking system; but it was in a rudimentary stage in the Maratha country in the 17th century. A number of gold, silver and copper coins issued by the Mughals, the Adil Shahi and the Qutb Shahi rulers as well as by the Portuguese and the English were in circulation in the Maratha country.

Besides, licences were given to private persons to mint coins.[590] For smaller transactions even *cawries* were used in many parts of the country. The indigenous bankers in the society were *shete, mahajan, deshmukh, desphande* and some rich brahmans.[591] When a loan transaction was settled it was reduced to writing and this document was called *karja katba, karja rokha, karja khat* or *karja patra*, with signatures of witnesses affixed on it. An analysis of these loan-deeds reveals that loans were taken mainly for agricultural purposes, litigation, ransom payment, or maintenance of family but rarely for business. There are hardly any references to a moneylender engaged in any commercial activity.

The *sahukars* mentioned in the *Ajnapatra* were not ordinary moneylenders but financers who could enrich the state by helping it to establish a prosperous market. The state must be borrowing from such *sahukars* to meet its own requirements, particularly at the time of war. The petty shopkeepers must have been borrowing money from the landlords or from the shete-mahajan or *bidwai* who probably might have been their wholesale suppliers as well.

Loans were generally advanced for a short period of six months to a year, though in some cases the period could be extended up to five years.[592] The rate of interest was usually fixed for a month, and it was about 15 per cent on

secured loans and as high as 60 per ceht per annum on unsecured loans, depending on the nature of the loan and the economic status of the party concerned.[593]

As there were no good avenues of investment in the Maratha country, the creditor possibly induced the debtor, if it was a solvent party, to keep the loan on for a longer period at a lower rate. A document reveals that the debtor was to repay the amount of loan at the rate of 10 per cent within one month, failing which the rate would be 5 per cent per month onwards till the loan was fully repaid.[594] Loans in kind i.e., in the form of seeds or foodgrains were generally advanced to the cultivators for a minimum of six months on condition that they should repay double the quantity.[595]

The repayment of loan was considered a moral obligation. If the debtor failed to pay the loan within the stipulated time, he had not only to pay a penalty, which was often severe, but it was also equated with heinous sins like the killing of a cow, the murder of a brahman, or having illicit relations with one's own mother. The non-payment could result in the loss of the mortgaged land.[596]

The state possibly advanced *taqai* loans to the needy cultivators for purchasing equipment for agriculture, or for maintenance during the period of distress, without charging any interest, or charging it at a rate lower than the current market rate, according to the convenience of the debtor.[597] Again it is not known what type of protection was accorded to the creditors and debtors by the state. Perhaps the village council decided such cases if they were referred to it.

For monetary transaction an instrument called varat i.e. an order to pay upon a treasury or firm, was used by the state as well as by the moneylenders. But sometimes varat was considered as an 'uncertain money' by merchants.[598] This system of payment by *varat* created a class of brokers for realizing the money mentioned in it.[599] The Saraswat

community of Konkan was chiefly engaged in this brokerage.

Shivaji believed that the prosperity of his newly created state lay in the development of trade and commerce in his areas. It was, therefore, imperative on his part to give concessions in *jakat* and provide facilities for the promotion of commercial activities. Ramachandrapant Amatya. (1650-1717), a contemporary of Shivaji holding high positions in Maratha administration, had an intimate knowledge of the administration and policies of the Maratha government. In his treatise on Maratha polity called *Ajnapatra*, he discusses the commercial policy of Shivaji. While underlining the importance of merchants he writes : "Merchants are the ornaments of the kingdom and the glory of the King. They are the cause of the prosperity of the kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not avilable come into kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich. In times of difficulties whatever debt is necessary is available. With its help danger is averted. There is a great advantage in the protection of merchants."[600] He held the view that merchants should be induced to settle down in the main market, they should be respected and honoured at social functions, and their freedom of movement should be protected and assured.

As the medieval period witnessed the advent of many European trading companies on the west coast, in addition to the Persian and Arab merchants of the earlier period, the Marathas had to devise a special commercial policy for them. The Europeans, according to Amatya, were not like other merchants; their masters were rulers having territorial ambitions. Being fully apprised of the importance of these merchants, particularly for the supply of war material, the Marathas adopted a policy of eternal vigilance towards them.[601]

Thus, it can be said in conclusion that the Marathas could not achieve any remarkable development of

commercial activity in the 17th century. Perhaps their preoccupation with the foundation of Swaraj prevented them from engaging themselves in any economic activity in a big way.

IV

The Maratha power gradually expanded in the north and south and became a major power on the subcontinent in the 18th century. However, this expansion of political authority did not simultaneously expand the business activity of the Marathas. The structure of village markets, the internal trade, means of transport and communication, etc. did not show any material change or improvement during this period. Nevertheless, the political expansion led to urbanization of some places and the consequent rise of a class of *sahukars* (moneylenders) and traders. But we hardly find any major entrepreneurial activity on the part of the Marathas.

The Maratha country enjoyed comparative peace in the 18th century. Nagpur and Pune were the two major cities which came into prominence during this peiod. The central location and better linkage with other parts of the country led to a rapid rise of Nagpar as a trading centre of cotton trade and also of textile industry. As against this, Pune witnessed several financial transactions but it never became a commercial or industrial centre.[602] Nasik, Satara and Sholapur were other places which were gradually developing during this period.

With the rise of the Peshwas, Pune became not only a centre of political but also of economic activity. Several professional merchants and moneylenders settled down in the city and contributed to its speedy urbanization. The members of the Bohra community came and settled in Raviwar *peth* of Pune around the middle of the l8th century. Traders from Rajasthan, Gujarat, Karnataka, Andhra and Marathwada were attracted to Pune because

of various concessions and guarantees offered by the government. These traders set up their shops which led to the development of various *peth*s in the city. According to one estimate, the original *qasba* of Pune developed into 18 suburbs or *peth* in the 18th century.[603] Earlier the Gujarati merchants were insignificant, but they became quite prominent in the last quarter of the 18th century. They organized themselves under the leadership of Dulabhadas Govindji, who was the *nagarshet* of Pune during the period of Nana Phadnis.[604] Dulabhsheth was also a dealer in ammunition,[605] and a leading *sahukar* who was known to all principal sahukars from Rameshwaram to Lahore. As nagarshet he had to entertain the sahukars coming to Pune from distant regions, solve their problems, settle their disputes and keep them in good humour while they were in Pune. The Peshwa had granted him some revenue from state mints to meet his expenses which he had to incur as *nagarshet.*[606]

The expansion of the Maratha power brought some wealth to the Maratha country but the Maratha state always remained in debt. The Peshwas and their sardars had to borrow big and small amounts from the indigenous moneylenders for carrying on their military activities. These regular expeditions in the north and south must have contributed to the rise of a large moneylending class in the Maratha country in the 18th century. By the middle of the 18th century there were about 150 moneylenders most of them brahmans particularly of the Chitpavan sect, to which the Peshwas also belonged. Other communities involved in moneylending were the weavers, the goldsmiths, the Marathas and the Saraswats or Shenvis. A notable Deshastha brahman swami of Dhavadshi advanced large sums to Bajirao I and various Maratha nobles during the middle of the 18th century.[607] Chiplunkar, Tulshibagwale, Khasgiwale, Vaidya, Subhedar of Kalyan, Naik of Baramati, Dikshit-Patwardhon of Nasik were the leading

merchant-cum-moneylenders of the period. Gujarati moneylenders also found a place in the approved list of the government.

Pune had also become a centre of monetary transactions as the bills of exchange from many parts of the country were discounted in Pune during this period. It is true, however, that the Maratha moneylenders had no big firms like the Gujaratis, and their monetary transactions did not exceed a few lakhs of rupees. Marathas mainly engaged in small loans and that was perhaps the reason that a large number of moneylenders existed in Pune in the 18th century. The firm of Dikshit-Patwardhan had financial relations with firms at Varanasi, Burhanpur, Ujjain, Jalanapur, Aurangabad, Konkan, Paithan, Nasik, Bombay, etc. The rate of discount of a *hundi* varied from Rupee 1 to Rupees 2 per hundred. The *hundi* used to mention the time, place and the type of currency in which the amount was to be paid. In case of difference between the type of currency to be paid to the party concerned, the rate of exchange current in the market was taken into account and the party was paid accordingly.[608]

Chafekar has mentioned about 57 varieties of rupees and 16 types of gold coins current in the Maratha country in the 18th century. Some of the coins bore names of the kings issuing them. Sale or purchase of coins used to take place on a large scale.[609] There were state mints at Satara, Rahimatpur and Panhalla. But licences were also granted to private persons to mint money under strict conditions in consideration of a small fee paid to the state.[610]

The Maratha country also witnessed the rise of a class of cloth merchants during this period. Maheshwari *banias* from Rajasthan came to Pune in the second half of the 18th century and settled in Kapadganj (a *peth* in Pune) as cloth merchants and grocers. Marwaris from Jodhpur and Sirohi also followed them. Often the cloth merchants and

moneylenders were the same persons. The major purchaser of cloth was the government, and the merchants had to supply the cloth often on credit. Brahmans were mainly engaged in this trading activity. In a list of 30 cloth merchants of the year 1768-69, there was not a single Gujarati but the list of the year 1773 includes two Gujaratis among 71 cloth merchants of Pune. Thus it seems that the Maratha brahmans dominated the cloth market in the 18th century, though the Gujaratis and Marawaris were trying to find place for themselves.

Justice Ranade in his introduction to the *Peshwa's Diaries* writers :

"Traders from Arabia were encouraged to settle in the Konkan parts. Their trade was chiefly in horses and they were allowed to enter the territory free of customs duty. Similar favours were shown to the European traders who sought admission for their goods into the country. Liberal concessions were made from enlarging the limits of the more prosperous towns by grant of and, exemptions and *vatans* to those who undertook to bring foreign settlers and induced them to build new houses and open new *bazaars*. The silk and embroidery industry of Poona was entirely due to the encouragement given to the foreign settlers from Burhanpur, Paithan and other towns to come and live under Peshwa's protection on house sites which were granted free to them. Individual merchants were encouraged in large towns to open shops with the help of government advances."[611]

But this rise in the business of moneylending as well as merchandise in the 18th century proved to be a temporary-phase in the economic history of the Maratha region, as it thrived only under the royal patronage. When the British wrested power from the Marathas in the early 19th century, the business of the Marathas gradually declined. As the Maratha moneylenders did not invest their profits in any productive activity, no permanent basis for the expansion

of business was created. Whatever economic prosperity existed the 18th century was, therefore, no more than a passing phase.

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13

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF INDAPUR

Regional records available in the State archives or private research institutes are valuable sources for understanding the intricate problems of rural India. Records of individual village accounts (the *jamabandi*) preserved in the Pune Archive (also known as the Peshva *daphtar* or Alienation Office) are fairly continuous covering a long period of history. The records of Indapur "town" (Kasba and *Peth* being its Marathi, designation, though the town is mostly agrarian), selected for research, are found in sixteen *rumals* (bundles), each containing more than 1000 documents of varying lengths that deal exclusively with the town. In addition, references to Indapur are found in the Pune *jamav* and *citnisi daphtar* sections of the Pune Archives. Furthermore, British survey and settlement reports of Indapur are preserved in the Bombay Archives. The purpose of the present paper is to present an initial survey of the type of historical materials preserved in these sources for the period 1818-1857, the first phase of British rule in upland Maharashtra.

Geographical and Historical setting

Indapur *taluka* of the present Pune district is situated at the south-eastern extremity of the district and is bounded on the north and east by the Bhima river, which separates the sub district from Karmala *taluka* of the Solapur district. On the west Indapur *taluka* of the Solapur district. On the west Indapur *taluka* adjoins the Baramati *taluka* of the Pune district; southward, the Nira river separates Indapur from the Malsiras *taluka* of the Solapur district.

Indapur's rainfall is scanty and precarious. In the years

to be considered in this paper lands were left unsown for want of moisture. Those that were sown produced next to nothing. Failures of crops, more or less general and extensive, appear to have been common and a good or even a fair average harvest the exception. The agricultural land of Indapur town in general is barren (*mal*) and very few patches of garden lands (*bagait*) with limited irrigation facilities were to be found. The town's soil was classified as tambadi or a sort of reddish and coppery hue. It is a stiff clay mixed with sand in various proportions and in general very unproductive. White jawar was the staple crop of this village, though bajara, gram, wheat and sunflower were also produced. On the whole, Indapur was the most unproductive *taluka* in Pune district.

Indapur is noteworthy in the medieval period of Deccan history because it was a part of Shahaji's *jagir*, which was bequeathed to his son, Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha kingdom. During the disturbed political situation in the 17th century Deccan, Indapur was held sometimes by the Marathas, sometimes by the Mughals. Following Shivaji' s death (1680), it was under Mughal rule during the period of Mughal-Maratha conflict. The Mughals acquried the *taluka* in 1682 and placed it under the administrative divisions of *sarkar Junnar*, *subha* Aurangabad. The year 1689/90 seems to be critical in the history of Indapur Village, as a *kaulnama* (agreement with the rayats) of this year issued by the Padshah mentions that most of the tenants had left the village and so the deshmukhs and *despandes* were called upon to invite the tenants back and offer them low rates of assessment. Judging by a *kaulnama* issued in 1718 it seems that Indapur was under the joint control of the Mughals and the Marathas. But from 1733 the sub district and village were under the sole control of the Marathas as *sanads* from this year mention Shahu as Chaptrapati as well as the *rajashaka* era started by Shivaji.

Indapur witnessed its most flourishing period during the regime of Savai Madhavrav Peshwa (1773-95) and his

regent Nana Phadnis. A large portion of Indapur *taluka* (or *pargana*) was assigned to Maratha *sardars* of infantry and cavalry (paga), who stationed their forces in its principal villages. Apparently, during this period Indapur's agriculture was higher than in subsequent periods. With the accession of Bajirao II (1796-1818) as Peshwa the decline of Indapur began. The ravages of Holkar's army in 1804-05 under Fathesing Mane completely ruined the *taluka*. It was much depopulated for six years due to famines. With the end of Maratha power in 1818, the *taluka* came under British administration in 1825 and was transferred from Ahmednagar to Pune district.

Indapur's history during the first years of British administration is of particular note. It was in this *taluka* that the British undertook initial experiments in the settlement of the land revenue -- particularly in settlements first by Pringle and later by Goldsmid and Wingate. Indapur became, in a sense, a test case both for British theories of revenue management and subsequently, for contemporary historiography of 19th century British rule in India. The local rural records consulted here show, however, another side of the rural life in Maharashtra in the early years of British administration than hitherto emphasized in studies that concentrate solely on political change or the broad themes of higher economic policy.

Revenue settlements and Indapur

The Marathas first adopted the settlement of Malik Amber, the vazir of the Nizamshahi kingdom of Ahmednagar. This settlement called *tankha*, was a cash rental based, according to traditional accounts, upon an estimate of a third share of a village's produce. The *tankha* consisted of two parts : the ain *tankha*, or standard assessment, and the *sardeshmukhi*, the "privilege of the king" being ten percent of the ain *tankha*. The details of Malik Amber's settlement are not available, but his figures remained unchanged in the Indapur *jamabandi* documents

of the 17th and 18th centuries. The *tankha* assessment was fixed on the gross produce of a village, and its amount to individual holdings or estates was left to the village community.

For Indapur town, a document or 1752 gives the *tankha* in two parts: Rs. 6813/2/0 for Indapur kasba (the village as a whole as *taluka* headquarters) plus Rs. 1531/9/0 for Indapur *peth* (presumably the commercial quarter of the *taluka* headquarters.) Further, a few undated 18th century documents give the same figures for Indapur's *tankha*. From 1819 to 1857 the British added the ten percent *sardeshmukhi* to the *tankha*, it being Rs. 681/4/0 on the *kasba* assessment (to a total of Rs. 7,474/4/0 and R5. 153/1/0 on the *peth* assessment (to a total of Rs. 1,684/11/0).

The *tankha* assessment was superseded by the *kamal* system introduced by Madhavrao Peshwa (1761-73). In Indapur *taluka* the implementation of the *kamal* was entrusted to one Kamlakar Bhakskar, the *mamlatdar* ("revenue officer") of the sub district. The Marathas had received a setback politically and economically at the battle of Panipat in 1761, and in the wake of the restoration of Maratha power, Madhavrao Peshwa resorted to increasing state revenues to the maximum possible; as a British report from 1835 bluntly puts it : the "*Kumal's* origin may be discovered in the liberality of Mulec Amber's system and in the cupidity of the Maratha government, to which may be added the agumented resources of the country" (Bombay Archives: 1835). As this report suggests, the *kamal* also aimed at the upward revision of state revenue demands in part because of the depreciation in the value of money since the *tankha* had been fixed. The *kamal* assessment was based on the classification and valuation of village land to ascertain the general capabilities of a village. The land was first surveyed by an appraisal (*najar pahani*) of the crops made to determine the assessment.

The *kamal for* Indapur *kasba* and *peth*, determined by about 1764 was Rs.12,500 and Rs. 2,400 respectively. To this the British added *gavkharch*, "village expenses" (Rs. 1425 and Rs.372/10/3 on the *kasbha* and *peth* respectively) and also an excess assessment due to rising prices (being Rs. 633/14/0 on the *kasba* assessment only).

The *kamal* assessment was fixed in the year 1760, but it was soon found difficult to reach this target. During the reign of Peshva Bajirao II, the revenue officials found it impracticable to realize the enhanced revenue demands of the *kamal*, and as govemment was hard-pressed for money, it introduced a scheme of farming the land revenue. The revenue farmers, desiring to increase profits, introduced a number of cesses, *babti*, on top of the standard assessment. Though known before (for example, Mughal sanads of 1719 granting the Marathas the right to collect *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, also mentions *babti* as legitimate item of state revenue demand), these new cesses were perhaps not so rigorously collected previously nor used as a means to effectively boost the assessment rates.

It was later argued by the British that the levy of these extra cesses, the incursions of plundering armies, and the succession of bad seasons had nearly depopulated Indapur *tatuka* in the early 19th century. Hence, the Peshwa was forced to curb the outward migration of the peasantry by introducing the istava assessment, which raised the revenue on a progressive scale over a period of time until it reached the standard *tankha* assessment. But the revenue situation of Indapur did not improve, and the outbreak of the last Anglo -Maratha war in 1817 further disturbed the economic order of the *taluka*.

When the territory passed into British hands, different methods of restoring order in revenue administration were tried. Various schemes of assessment, such as *ukta* and *kauli*, were adopted with a view to fixing varying

assessment of these different Methods invarious villages. However the management of these different Methods was left to the village revenue officials, and the multifarious settlement proved unsuccessful. Relief measures adopted by government, in the form of remissions in land revenue, did not reach the concerned needy *rayats* as they were appropriated by local officials. Generally, confusion prevailed in village management.

Desiring to remove these obvious defects, the British planned a regular land survey and R. K. Pringle, a product of Haileybury, much influenced by classical political economy ideas of rent, was entrusted with this task in 1823. His report, submitted in 1828, was implemented in 1830. Pringle surveyed the entire cultivated and cultivable lands of a village, classified each village on the basis of its fertility, estimated the produce of the different kinds of soil after allowing for expenses of cultivations, a certain amount of the remaining net produce was taken as the assessment of the land. But the estimates of the capabilities of the individual holdings or soil proved to be an entire failure. This was mainly due to the faulty and sometimes dishonest manner in which the classification of soil was carried out and crop returns prepared.

When Pingle's report was implemented the *jamabandi* records of Indapur altered slightly. Formerly the land was measured in chavars and bighas (120 *bighas per chavar*), but from 1829 *acres* and *gunthas* (1/40 of an acre) were introduced. According to this new survey the assessment of Indapur kasba was Rs. 13,460/7/0. Pringle's system did not apply to the non-agrarian Indaur *peth*. Although this new assessment (*paimashi*, as revenue settlements were generally known during the British period) was not quite as high as the *kamal* (Rs.14,558/14/0), still it was nearly double the *tankha* (Rs.7,494/4/0) (both figures being taken from post 1829 *jamabandi* records), clearly the *paimashi* was beyond the abilities of the rayats to pay.

The second attempt at survey and settlement during the period under review was made by H. E. Goldsmid and his associate G. Wingate. These two officers were asked to devise a system of land revenue that reconciled the laws of political economy to the *rivaj* ("custom") of the villages of Maharashtra. They thus laid the foundations of the British land policy of the Deccan, and the general economic policy of the Indapur *taluka* dates from the settlements, made by them.

With this background we can now turn to an abstract of the *jamabandi* records of the Indapur kasba and *peth* to demonstrate the wealth of local economic and social data to be found in the Marathi sources for the rural history of Maharashtra under the early British rule.

ABSTRACT OF INDAPUR RECORDS

1. Land and Revenue

A. Distribution of Land

1. Amounts

The *rakba* land ("ground pertaining to a village") of Indapur town before 1822 was 185 chavars, 1172 bighas, but the survey of 1822 added 75 *bighas* and 13 *pands* (1 pand = 1/20 bigha), making a new total of *rakba* land of 186 *cavars*, 73 *bighas* and 3 *pands* (or, alternatively, 21,393 *bighas*, 3 *pands*).

The general distributions of the land throughout the period remained unchanged: 12,588 bighas of revenus producing agrarian and (*khalsa*) and 9805 *bighas* of non-revenue producing land (*gav-vasahat*), for a total of 22393 *bighas*.

2. Non-revenue Producing Lands

a. non-agrarian lands

The *gav-vasahat* lands are those uncropped areas of the village not yielding any revenue. These are specified as follows (in *bighas*) :

gav vasahant (habitation)	481
Khadkmal (rock land)	2121
copan (clayey soil)	117
odha (stream or gully)	297
gayran (common pasture)	673
Shimva (border lands)	51
tutran (deficit in survey)	1461
talye (lake side)	104
kuran (meadow)	30
total bighas	9805

b. Alienated land (*Inam*)

Also deducted from the revenue producing land (*khalsa*) are 4469 bighas of alienated, *inam* land. *Inam* is of two varieties : *sanadi* (title deed) and *gavnisbat* (village alienation).

Sanadi inam totals 3011.5 bighas. Generally these grants were issued by the Maratha king or his officers (in particular by the Peshwa and his officers). A survey of the sanads granted by the Maratha government to Indapur reveals the following communal distribution of these grants :

Caste/Religion	No. of holders	total land (bigha)
Brahmans	16	1,984
Muslims	7	802
Courtesans	3	90
Jangam or Lingayat	1	30
Priests		
	Subtotal	2,906,5
	sanads not produced	105
	total	3,011.5

Gavnisbat inam, to a total of 1,457.5 bighas included grants made by the village itself and deducted from the revenue producing *khalsa* lands. These grants included (in *bighas*)

657	held by the village patil (Patilki *watan*)
660	held by the village accountant (kulkarni vatan)
5	for Jivaji Khanderav Deshpande, the *pargana* (sub-district) deshpande
15	nadgauda, an *inam* created by the Maratha king
120	mahar hadola, a vatan granted for services rendered by the mahars to the village community. According to a document of 1,741, the mahars acquired this vatan by paying a najar ("contribution") to government.
5	for the village goddess Rokadai Devi, for obtaining flowers etc. for the daily worship
1,457.5	total bighas

There are two types of *inam* grants. In the first type only the revenue of land, which was collected by government,

was granted, where the *inamdar* did not hold proprietory rights over land. In the second type, the individuals held the proprietory rights and collected revenue on their own.

B. Land Revenue

1. Assessable Land

a. Bagait and Jirait : Revenue yielding land was classified under two general categories; *bagait*, or “garden land” (perhaps irrigated), and jiratt, or “dry land” that depended on the monsoon. These were distributed as follows:

total land (bighas)	bagait	jirait
23,393	502	21,891
total khalsa land		
12,588	342.5	12,245.5

b. Khalsa Land : The *khalsa* land available for cultivation was 12,588 *bighas*. The *jamabandi* chitha (“general roll of revenues”) gives details of *padit* (uncultivated or fallow land) and *lavani* (cultivated land). In addition, the *akher ainjama* or final collection of land revenue after all deductions and additions is given in the following table for the years 1822 to 1842 :

Year	padit (bighas)	lavani (bighas)	akher ainjama (Rs.)
1822	4,716	7,872	8,032
1823	4,517	8,071	8,410
1824	6,930	5,657	5,325
1825	8,282	4,307	2,179
1826	7,282	5,306	2,408
1827	8,921	3,666	2,450
1828	8,011	4,577	3,092
1829	8,549	3,956	3,485
1831	6,384	4,455	2,117
1832	9,076	3,591	2,412
1834	5,707	5,406	2,496
1835	6,996	6,689	3,139
1839	873	14,390	4,395
1840	873	15084	4,590
1841	100	15,163	4,380
1842	100	15,163	5,054

c. Mirasadars : The *jamadandi chitha* under the heading, of cultivated (*lavani*) land sometimes gives details of those mirasdars, or, ancient right holders in land, either present or absent (described as *gatkuli*, 'emmigrated families"). *Mirasi* lands are further divided into bagait and jirait lands for each case. The following is a sample of the records available for *mirasi* rights available for Indapur (in *bighas*):

	Lavani			Mirasi			Gatkuli		
Year	*bag.*	*jir.*	total	*bag.*	jir.	total	bag.	jir.	total
1824	207	5,450	5,657	114	1,042	1,156	93	4,408	4,501
1826	233	5,073	5,306	195	1,056	1,251	38	4,016	4,054
1827	151	3,515	3,666	n/a	n/a	1,196	n/a	n/a	2,470

2. Classification of Soils

In 1829 a new system of measurement was introduced following Pringle's report on *Indapur taluka*. Land was now measured in *acres* and *gunthas* by survey chain. This survey demarked different individual holdings in Indapur village (called *pratbandi*). The total number of holdings was 794, out of which 645 were *khalsa*. The *lavani* holdings varied from time to time depending on the number of holdings enumerated under *padit*, uncultivated land.

Pringle's survey also followed classification of soil according to productivity for the purposes of assessment. Soil was classified under three general categories : *kali*, black and fertile; *tambadi*, reddish of medium fertility; and *bardi*, sandy and least fertile. Each category was further subdivided into three types. In 1829 the classification of soils for Indapur showed the following categories and their respective revenue rates:

		Holdings	Acres	Rate		
				R.s.	As.	Res.
kali	rank I	20	331	0	I	68.75
	rank II	66	1,169	0	12	93.75
	rank III	142	4,230	0	8	68.75
tambadi	rank I	207	2,984	0	12	68.75
	rank II	77	1,676	0	8	56.25
	rank III	41	1,002	0	4	87.50
	totals	325	1,002			
bardi	rank I	51	1,391	0	8	31.25
	rank II	35	806	0	4	43.50
	rank III	6	2,287	0	0	68.75
	grand totals	645	13,679			

The estimated revenue of all these lands was Rs. 9,787 As.8 and Rs.35.25. From this the uncultivated land was excluded and the total probable revenue from the remaining cultivated land was shown as Rs. 7878. But actually only Rs. 3485 were collected. Out of 645 holdings only 243 were cultivated and the remaining 312 were fallow holdings. The *chitha* gives the details of deficits and excesses called *kamjasti* and a final figure is arrived at, from which the land revenue for that year is calculated.

C. Summary of Other Revenues

Besides land revenue, another source of revenue was sayer, or taxes. Five main heads of such taxes are found : *balute, mohtarpha, sirasta batta, bajar batta, and najarbhet.*

The *balute*, a tax on *balutedars*, the village servants, appears to have been an innovation because it is not found in earlier records. Rs. 229 was collected from the

various trades as follows :

	Rs.
Cobbler	90
Washerman	40
Barber	49
Potter	20
Carpenter	30
total	229

The *mohtarpha* was a tax on merchants of the village. Apparently there were a few grocer's shops, oil presses and some wage-earners (*adana kule*). In 1822 there were eight *vanis*; ("grocers"), five oilmen and a few wage-earners. The rates of the *mohtarpha* for these merchants are not given. The amount of taxes collected as *mohtarpha* shows changes after 1831-32.

Sirasta batta was charged on the revenue of fertile land at the rate of 1%. *Bajar batta* was charged on the net income of the previous year at the rate of Rs. 1/14/6 per hundred. *Sirasta batta* seems to have been dropped after 1831 and bajar batta from1840. A customary payment of Rs. 1 is shown as *najarbhet* in all the *jamabandis*. In the *jamabandi* of 1839 two new items apper as taxable : country liquor and *hashi* roots (from a wild fruit tree). It was also customary for the *hakdars* ("holders of specified allowances") to get free menial service from a *mahar* called *rabata mahar*. In 1839 Rs. 23/15/9 were collected under this heading.

D. Village Expenses

From the gross income, money spent , the village *hakdars* and the village community is excluded and the net income is called *vasuli* berij. Among the village hakdars are included the *deshmukh*, *deshpande, nadgauda* and

gumaste (a representative of the jamindars). These were *pargana* officials.

The second item of village expenses was the *gavkharch*, which included allowances for the Hindu and Muslim religious institutions of the village (*devasthan kharh*), annual allowances (*varsasans*) given to brahmans, and haks ("perquisites") of the *patil, kulkarni, khot* (all three village officials), *gramjoshi* (astrologer) and miscellaneous charges.

In the *jamabandi* of 1824, the expenses of the *hakdars* were shown as Rs. 167/14/6. The *gavkharch* amounted to Rs. 731/12/6, which included Rs. 93/0/6 for *devasthan*, Rs. 34/8/6 for *varsasans*, and *haks* of Rs. 564/4/0. The total expenses were Rs. 899 / 15 /0.

E. Net Revenues of Indapur

1. Amounts

The net revenue of Indapur village received by government in the years 1822-1842 was thus :

Year	Cross Revenue (Rs.) *ain jama*	*sayar*	Expenses (Rs.) *total*	*hakdars*		Net Revenue(Rs.) *gavkharc*	*total (vasvli berij)*
1822	8,032	476	8,508	341	528	869	7,639
1823	8,410	475	8,885	234	622	856	8,029
1824	5,325	394	5,719	168	731	899	4,820
1825	2,179	356	2,535	67	309	376	2,259
1826	2,408	407	2,815	47	339	386	2,429
1827	2,450	363	3,113	54	324	378	2,735
1828	3,092	370	3,462	62	352	414	802
Revised	(1,058)	(158)	(1,216)			due to relief	
1832	2,412	308	2,720	47	372	419	686
Revised			(1,105)			due to relief	
1834	2,496	310	2,770	118	413	532	2,238
1835	3,139	332	3,471	140	459	599	2,603
Revised	(2,916)	(288)	(3204)				
1839	4,395	284	4,679	199	516	715	3,712
			+55				
	subtotal		4,734				
	relief		-307				
	total		4,427				
1840	4,590	298	4,848	216	382	598	4,139
	relief		150				
	total		4,798				
1841	4,628	284	4.913	91	403	494	4,413
		relief	-6				
	total	4,907					
1842	5,054	284	5,338	102	837	939	4,393
	relief		-5				
	total		5,333				

2. Method of Payment

The net revenue due to government was to be realized in seventeet instalments as a specific percentage of the total net revenue. In 1822, for example, the *vasuil berij* was Rs.7638 / 7 /0 and was to be collected on the following

schedule:

Month	Amount	Rate
	(Rs)	(Rs.pa 100)
October	76 / 8 / 0	1
November	382 / 8 / 0	15
December	1,912 / 8 / 0	25
January	2,295 / 0 / 0	30
February	1,912 / 8 / 0	25
March	535 / 8 / 0	7
April	523 / 15 / 0	7
Total	7,638 / 7 / 0	

II. Society

A. Cultivators The *jamabandi chitha* also furnishes detailed statitical records of numbers of cultivators and their implements and resources :

Cultivators				Bullocks	Ploughs	Ploughs	Wells		
Culting	others	total		(2 + bullocks)			in order	out of order	total
year									
1821	170	26	196	788	95	394	28	4	32
1822	170	26	196	788	95	394	28	4	32
1824	131	26	157	742	93	371	28	4	32
1825	95	11	106	190	n/a	95	28	4	32
1826	102	11	113	246	31	123	28	4	32
1827	95	9	104	242	30	121	28	4	32
1828	109	9	118	250	31	125	28	4	32
1829	85	12	97	250	31	125	50	20	70
1831	97	13	110	260	32	130	51	20	72
1832	105	23	128	272	34	136	52	20	72
1834	119	19	138	300	37	150	52	20	72
1835	145	23	168	450	86	225	52	20	72
1839	252	53	305	800	100	400	54	20	74
1840	252	53	305	800	100	400	54	20	74
1841	264	50	314	800	100	400	54	20	74
1842	267	51	318	800	100	400	54	20	74

The number of carts is shown in only three *ciththas*:

Year	No. and type	Total
1842	5 small	
	10 big	15
1850	16 agricultural	
	13 for transport	29
1857	13 big	
	18 for transport	31

B. Habitations and Castes, 1819

Indapur *kasba* had seven suburbs (*vadis*) for a total of eight habitation areas. While there are no records of the total population of the village, a kind of census document dated 12 December 1819 gives some information about

the number of dwellings and inhabitants categorized by caste and/or occupation :

occupation/caste	No residences	No. people
sarkarvada khot shibandi (government establishment guards)	1	25
nadgauda (revenue or police officer)	1	6
bhiksuka (mendicant brahmans)	6	19
grhastha (brahmans ?)	21	102
caugula (village officer)	3	10
kunbi-shetkari (Maratha cultivators)	171	701
mali ("gardener" caste)	29	121
gujar (merchants, i.e "from Gujarat"?)	8	37
teli (oilmen)	7	30
sonar (goldsmiths)	3	11
kosti pasodyacha (weavers of shawls)	2	6
shimpi (tailors)	2	8
nhavi (barber)	4	15
parit (washermen)	4	15
lohar (blacksmiths)	6	20
tirgul (betel leaf gardeners)	2	15
camhar (cobblers)	10	52
Kumbhar (potters)	9	36
sutar (carpenters)	11	43
ghodi jingar (saddlers)	5	17
Muslims	23	87
Rajputs (Marathas?)	34	122
rojgari majurdar (day labourers)	188	636
bhikari (beggars)	30	70
attar (perfumers)	3	12
ramoshis (watchmen)	6	25
mahar majurdar (untouchable labourers)	53	175
mang majurdar (untouchable labourers)	27	95
totals	670	2511

C. Censuses of Indapur in 1836-37, 1850 and 1857

It appears that the first formal survey of Indapur's house, inhabitants, cattle and such was conducted in 1836-37 with further surveys in I850 and 1857. Information available in the *jamabandi chithas* for houses and inhabitants for 1836-37, 1850 and 1857 and of cattle for 1836-37 is as follows :

	1836-37	1850	1857
Housres			
titled	7	0	0
flat-roofed 449	116		125
thatched	440	286	297
totals	896	402	422
Inhabitants			
males / adult	1992	987	1354
males / children	1088	670	500
subtotals	3080	1657	1854
females/adult	2123	924	1335
females/children	652	672	429
subtotals	2755	1596	1764
total population	5855	3553	3518
			1836-37
Cattle, etc.			
Buffalos and she-buffalows			
for agricultural purposes			1683
for other purposes		1853	
Cows and calves			2380
She-buffalos and calves		678	
Horses, ponies, mares and colts,			
elephants and camels			208
Sheep and goats			2507
total animals			7456
Carts			6
Ploughs			150

III. Indapur *Peth*: The Decline of Commerce, 1823-41

A. Overview : Indapur was a flourishing market town, *peth*, in the 18th century. But judging from the *jamabandi* records it seems to have declined gradually from 1823 and 1841. No doubt the decline in commerce is closely related to the decline in agriculture in this period. From the

jamabandi records we do not get neither the commodities exchanged in the market nor the rates for various commodities. The *jamabandi chithas* simply shows the income and expenditure aspects of the revenue collected from the *peth* by government.

The *tankha* (*ain tankha* and *sardeshmukhi*) and the *kamal* (*ain sarkar and gavkharch*) remain the same throughout the period under review: Rs. 1684/11/0 and 2687/10/3 respectively. However, it seems that the net income never reached these nominal targets during the period under review.

The major item of revenue was taxes on professionals and other mercantile inhabitants of the *peth*. The *chitha* gives the list of members and the amount of tax collected from each profession. From 1823 to 1834, the number of persons engaged in each profession is given. But from the amount of tax collected it is obvious that the numbers were declining from 1835 onwards. The *chitha* also gives reasons for the defecit or excess in taxes each year. *Bajarbatta* at the rate of 2% on the total collection was collected from members of the *peth* in order to cover the expenses of monetary transactions, particularly fluctuations in exchange rates. The customary collection of Re. 1 called *najarbhet* is also included under the credit, *jama*, side of the ledger. Also included as a credit to government was the *mohtarpha*.

From this gross income were deducted the expenses of the *peth*, which included payments to be made to *hakdars* and to *devasthans* (the same as for *kasba* Indapur).

The following table details the professional and mercantile groups of Indapur *peth* and the net revenues obtained from each group between 1823 and 1841:

B. Merchants and taxes

Merchant Groups	
1. bakal (grocer)	2. saraph (assayer)
3. bajaj (cloth merchant)	4. kosti (weava)
5. sonar (goldsmith)	6. bagvan (vegetable seller)
7. attar-tamboli (perfumer and betel)	8. khatik (butcher)
9. kasar (brazier or bangle dealer)	10. teli (oilman)
11. dhangar (shepherd)	12. mali (garderer)
13. majur (labour)	14. Miscellaneous

	1823		1824		1825		1829		1830		1831		1832	
Group	no.	tax	no.	tax	no.	tax	no.	tax	no.	tax	no.	tax	no.	tax
1.	47	543	49	527	38	247	40	213	39	213	43	195	42	179
2.	11	130	10	127	10	47	8	43	7	38	7	37	7	37
3.	25	283	18	273	18	86	20	90	19	86	22	91	22	92
4.	28	199	27	193	23	130	27	115	25	107	26	107	26	107
5.	13	70	10	69	10	30	10	25	9	20	10	20	9	19
6.	3	23	4	23	4	27	4	25	5	26	9	26	5	26
7.	6	39	4	35	5	17	5	17	6	15	6	15	7	16
8.	7	25	4	22	3	17	7	23	7	23	7	23	8	25
9.	6	51	5	47	5	19	6	20	6	20	6	20	6	20
10.	9	64	8	59	5	35	8	29	7	30	7	30	8	31
11.	11	86	11	86	9	37	9	33	9	33	9	33	7	26
12.	13	26	13	26	12	19	13	19	12	17	12	17	13	18
13.	80	64	30	29	10	12	44	39	43	38	45	38	44	41
14.	12	79	9	72	9	25	9	18	9	19	10	18	9	18

Group	No.	1823 Tax	1824 Tax	1825 Tax	1829 Tax	1830 Tax	1831 Tax	1832 Tax
1.	48	166	167	130	117	112	110	109
2.	7	37	38	25	21	21	21	21
3.	21	82	82	63	60	60	n/a	59
4.	20	98	102	28	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
5.	10	20	20	14	14	14	14	14
6.	5	26	26	20	20	20	17	9
7.	6	16	16	13	13	13	12	13
8.	7	14	16	15	10	11	11	11
9.	6	20	17	16	14	14	14	14
10.	10	32	32	25	25	25	19	19
11.	7	22	2	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
12.	13	18	18	17	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
13.	101	69	70	57	55	6	5	n/a
14.	13	18	19	17	17	17	16	18

C. Mohtarpha and Net Government Revenues from commerce, Indapur *peth*

C. Mohtarpha and Net Government Revenues from commerce, Indapur peth

	Mohtarpha			Net Income	
Year	member to peth	tax	gross income	expenditure	net income
1823	271	1686	1717	197	1520
1824	202	1594	1625	197	1428
1825	161	752	768	182	586
1829	197	730	730	182	548
1830	203	706	706	138	181
1831	215	677	692	180	492
1832	213	660	690	180	510
1834	274	658	659	180	479
1835	n/a	652	626	180	446
1837	n/a	448	442	161	281
1838	n/a	371	311	161	150
1839	n/a	317	306	161	145
1840	n/a	303	304	160	144
1841	n/a	299	399	161	139

Sources

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Revenue Department, 1835, Vol. 44/666

The Englishmen have adopted the Mahomedan derivation and not the Hindu one.

14

THE REVOLT OF ZAMINDARS IN AKKALKOT (1830)

Akkalkot was a small jagir created by Shahu, in the 18th century.[612] When Shahu was released in 1707 from the Mughal captivity, he was opposed by the supporters of Tarabai at various places. The Patil of Parad, a place 25 miles south of Daulatabad made a vain attempt to resist Shahu, and died in a pitched battle. The widow of the Patil surrendered and sought protection from Shahu. Shahu pardoned her and promised to treat her only son as his, and later on granted him the Jagir of Akkalkot, (Sholapur district, Maharashtra) and was named as Fattesingh. The Jagir was granted to him in perpetuity, and was thus brought within the royal fold. He was treated as prince, and perhaps he would have succeeded to the throne of Satara had he not preferred a small jagir to a state.[613]

The fifth Raja of this Jagir, Shahaji II (1828-1856) faced a small rising of the people in his state. When the British wrested power from the Marathas in 1818, a period of unrest ensued throughout the Maratha country. Chatur Singh of Satara, the Ramoshis, the Kolis, the Shibandis (fort garrisons) of Kolhapur, the Bhils of Khandesh, etc., revolted against the British authorities. The Maratha soldiers who were deprived of their former positions turned rebels.[614]

The State of Satara was created by an agreement between the East India Company and the last Chatrapati of the Maratha State. It was a diplomatic move of Mountstuart Elphinstone, who wanted to please people of

the Maratha country and also to enlist their support for the British Raj. The *Jagirdars* of Akkalkot nominally remained under the supremacy of the Raja of Satara, but actually they had entered into separate treaties with the Company.[615] Thus the seeds of distrust a dissensions were sown by the Company from the very beginning of the creation of Satara Raj.

The Raja of Satara (no longer the Chatrapati of Maratha State) by the Treaty of 1819 had not only accepted the British paramountcy, but had also agreed to circumscribe his freedom and authority. He could not have any relations with the people outside his state, including the *Jagirdars*, without the previous sanction of the British Resident stationed in his court.

The Maratha *Jagirdars* were broadly grouped under three heads:

(1) The old Sardar families like the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, the Dafles of Jata and the Ghorpades of Mudhol;

(2) The ministers of Shivaji and his successors, the Pratinidhi, the Angre and the Raja of Akkalkot, and lastly

(3) the *jagirdars* created by the Peshwa like Raste, Patwardhans, and others.[616]

Raja Fattesingh II (1789-1822) of Akkalkot had entered into an agreement with Captain James Grant, the Political Agent of Satara, on 3rd July, 1820, by which he agreed to be under the protectorate of the Raja of Satara.[617] Article II of this Treaty assured the Raja that so long as he remained loyal to the Treaty, the Company would protect him from the Raja of Satara. In accordance with this treaty, an agreement between Satara and Akkall was signed on 11th July, 1820.[618]

The agreements were faithfully observed during the period of Grant, the Resident and Political agent in Satara (1818 -1821) but the disputes between the Raja and his

Jagirdars on several issues began to develop after his departure. It seems that this problem of relationship between the Raja and the *Jagirdars* was discussed at length by the Raja with Grarnt when the quastion of transfer of power to Raja was under consideration of the Company's govemment. From the Diaries of the Raja, it seems that the Raja's denand for a complete control over the *Jagirdars* was not conceded by the Company Government. The ambiguity regarding the relationship caused much friction between the Raja and his *Jagirdars* in the subsequent period.[619]

Maloji (1823-28) of Akkalkot was succeeded by his infant son Sahaji II (1828-1856). Tulajabai, the widow of Maloji acted as protecter of the infant Raja and his brother Fattesingh, but the Regency rights were exercised by the Raja of Satara as per the Treaty of 1820. It was against this rule of the Raja of Satara that the people of Akkalkot revolted in 1830 and the British had to intervene to suppress the revolt.

The local *watandars* and *inam*dars resented the administration of Pratap Singh, and under the leadership of Shankarrao Sardeshmukh, a *watan*dar of Borgaon, they challenged the new administration. The infant king was arrested, the fort of Akkalkot was captured, and thus the capital was brought under sway by the rebles.

As it was incumbent upon the Satara Government to restore order and peace in the Jagir, the joint forces of Satara and the Company congregated on the frontiers of Akkalkot. The rebels held the fort for some time, though they had to surrender it later to the superior forces of the Company. But in the course of this pitched battle of 10th July, 1830, between the two forces, Captain Edmund Sparrow of the Company was wounded and died immediately. This perhaps irritated the British, who ruthlessly subdued the rebels. To commemorate this event Colonel Robertson, the Resident of Satara got built the

tomb of Captain Sparrow which is situated by the side of the road to the new palace. The forces of the Company restored peace in few days, and Captain Jameson was appointed to administer the State on behalf of the Company.[620]

The original documents, available in the Parasnis Museum and the Bharat Itihas Samshodhaka Mandal, Pune, throw some light on this Akkalkot affair of 1830. It is possible to explain with the help of these sources the strained relations between the Raja and his *Jagirdars*, the role of the Company, the causes of the revolt, how the people of Akkalkot resisted the combined forces of Satara and the Company, what happened on the day of revolt, and how it was finally crushed, etc.

When James Grant left Satara by the end of 1822, all the suppressed bickerings came to the surface. For instance, the Raja of Satara was insisting since long that his *Jagirdars* should attend the court at Satara held on the Dasara day. But this compulsion was resented by the *Jagirdars* as too expensive. Besides, it was felt as humiliating. The Raja of Akkalkot earlier on the advice of James Grant, transferred one of his villages to Satara to escape this compulsory attendance.

The relations between Satara and Akkalkot did not improve and the Raja of Satara had lodged a complaint with Captain Briggs, the Resident to investigate into this problem. Chaplin, the Commissioner of Poona, and Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, had sought explanations from Akkalkot, but as the Raja had assured loyalty to the Treaty, and that he would always seek the favours of the Company[621] in case of dispute with the Raja of Satara, this enquiry was dropped as unnecessary.

The native rulers always found the frequent transfers of the European officers as inconvenient to them, as they had to cultivate friendship with every new officer afrash. The *Jagirdars*, therefore; requested Maclcolm, the Governor of

Bombay. to send efficient Residents to Satara and that the reports of all the earlier officers like Elphinstone, Grant, Briggs, be preserved for the benefit of the new officers.[622] It is needless to say here that every new officer of the Company was well posted with information about the region in which he had to work.

The out-break of the revolt took place on 10th July, 1830. Earlier, the Rajmata Tulajabai on 30-6-1830, had conveyed the explosive situation in Akkalkot to Malcolm.[623]12 Her complaint was against the officers appointed by the Raja of Satara to manage the state affairs during the period of regency. These officers, according to her, misbehaved, violated the traditions of the Jagir, destroyed the canon, auctioned many things including the valuables of the royal household and other things. Thus, the prestige of the Royal family was at stake at the hands of these officials. The new garrison employed by the Raja had imprisoned, beaten and put to disgrace the old nobles of Akkalkot. She, therefore, requested the Governor that these officers of Satara be immediately removed.

Raja of Satara who was waiting for some excuse to interfere with Akkalkot sent fresh forces under the pretext of subduing the zamindars. Tulajabai categorically stated that the zamindars were not at fault. She maintained that as the privileges and purses of the zamindars were stopped, some of them out of sheer disgust, were deserting Akkalkot. It may be hazarded here that the Rajamata might have instigated the disgruntled zamindars to rise againet the Satara administration. Malcolm, however, received this letter on 13th July, i.e., three days after the out-break of the revolt.[624]

Both Robertson and Dinkarrao Mohite, the commander of the Raja wrote to him giving a full account of the situation in Akkalkot on the day of the out-break of the revolt on 10th July, 1830. Both mentioned how Edmund

Sparrow died of wounds on the battlefield itself. From the Raja's side the casualties were few : three persons died and eight to ten persons were severely wounded. Dinkarrao Mohite, the commander of the Satara Raja reported in detail the happenings of the 10th July, It seems that the people of Akkalkot gave a heroic resistance on that day. Skirmishes took place between the forces of Satara and the Deshmukhs and Sardeshmukhs who were deserting Akkalkot with their families. Part of the town was set on fire. The officers of the Raja of Satara who were expelled from Akkalkot joined the commander. The Commander who had arrived from Solapur made efforts to get cannon to harass the rebels. It was raining throughout the previous night which obstructed the movements of the army.[625]

As the situation was getting worse, Robertson requested the Raja on 11th July to send two new big guns with ammunition and gunners, two hundred troops of the Company including the gunners, and two elephants from the royal stables. The Ahmednagar centre of the company was earlier instructed to send cannon to Akkalkot and the Raja was informed that in case those cannon reached in time, no additional cannon be required from Satara. He should await a letter from Poona in this behalf, and send only two hundred troops, if cannon from Ahmednagar were on its way to Akkalkot.[626]

From these elaborate preparations one could guess the gravity of the situation. However, it seems that by 12th July normalcy was restored as it is clear from Malcolm's reference to a proclamation of the 13th July in his letter to Rajmata of the same date. This was in fact his reply to her earlier letter of 30th June, 1830. She was asked to obey the orders of Col. Robertson, to avoid any further deterioration of the situation in Akkalkot. He also promised her that protection would be given to her son, if she desired to send him to the Company, and attempts would be made to redress her grievances. It was also pointed out

that if she failed to report to Robertson immediatety the royal family and the people of Akkalkot would suffer for this and no appeal would be entertained from her.[627]

This episode was concluded on 17th July, 1830. Malcolm congratulated Pratapsingh for his prompt help and timely action. He assured him that if the people of Akkalkot disregarded the Proclamation, they would be punished. This would cause immense loss both to the rulers and rebels of Akkalkot.[628]

Tulajabai agreed to report to the Company in Poona within a period of ten days. It appears from her letter that she was not satisfied with the decision, but she was helpless and had to accept it without any reservations. She writes to the Resident that the Company had made her accept the Proclamation without paying any attention to the problems she had raised in her letter of 30th June, 1830.[629]

The Raja of Akkatlkot was unwilling to go to Satara from Pune where he was enjoying, the protection of the Company. He resented the Satara administration and expressed his fears that he would be locked up in the houses specially constructed for the people of Akkalkot. These houses would be as good as prisons. However, the Raja had no other alternative but to meet Pratapsingh at Satara.[630]

The Company suspected Tulajabai as the brain behind this revolt. The Diary of Raja Pratap Singh makes an interesting note in this respect. “Jameson reported that Shahaji is a good boy, but Tuljabai has spoiled him. He, therefore, writes to me that she should be sent to her parents’ place for some time and be paid minimum maintenance. She would be observed for two months and if she did not show any improvement in her behaviour, she would be separated from her son.”[631]

Thus, this attempt of Akkalkot to secede from Satara failed in 1830, but this did not put an end to the friction.

The Raja of Satara was deposed by the Company in 1839, and the Satara State lapsed to the Company in 1848 and all the *Jagirdars* under him went under the direct control of the Company.

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612 This paper is based on original papers preserved in the Parasnis Museum, Deccan College and Bharat Itihas Samshodhan Mandal,Poona. The author is indebted to Shir Y.N. Kelkar who gave a few letters from his personal collection.

613 Itihas Sangraha, year 2, Vol,3 pp. 6-7.

614 Maharashtra Under the Company (1818-1857) (Dr. P. V. Ranade, a Ms. Thesis, University of Poona Chapter 4 discusses at length the unrest in Maharashtra.

615 Memoir on the Satara Territory, Selections from the Records of the Bombay Govt. No. XLI-- New series Bombay. 1857 pp. 52-57.

616 History of the Marathas by Grant Duff. 6th Ed., London (1921), Vol. II, pp. 326-28.

617 Memoir on the Satara Territory, pp. 52-55.

618 Ibid, pp. 52-55.

619 Rojnishi of Pratap Sinha Ms. Vol. 5 pp. 146-61 dt. 19th to 27th March, 1822, Alienation Office, Poona.

620 A Monograph on Akkalkot : A. N. Pradhan Akkalkot, 1929,him. pp. 59.60.

621 Parasnis Museum Rumal No. 1 File 8 : 11 dt. 23.7.1826 (Hitherto referred as PMRIF)

622 Raja to Malcolm dt. 5.12.1828 PMRIF : 8 : 19.

623 Tulajabai to Malcolm dt. 30-6-1828 PMRIF 8 : 7

624 PMRIF 5 : 2

625 Satara Daftar preserved in BISM, Poona letter No. 9. dated 10th July, 1830,

626 PMRIF 8 : 13

627 PMRIF 5 : 2

628 PMRIF 8 : 4

629 PMRIF 8 : 9

630 BISM dt. 23-9-1830.

631 Selections from Peshwa Dafter Vol. 42 : 62 dt. 5-1-1831.